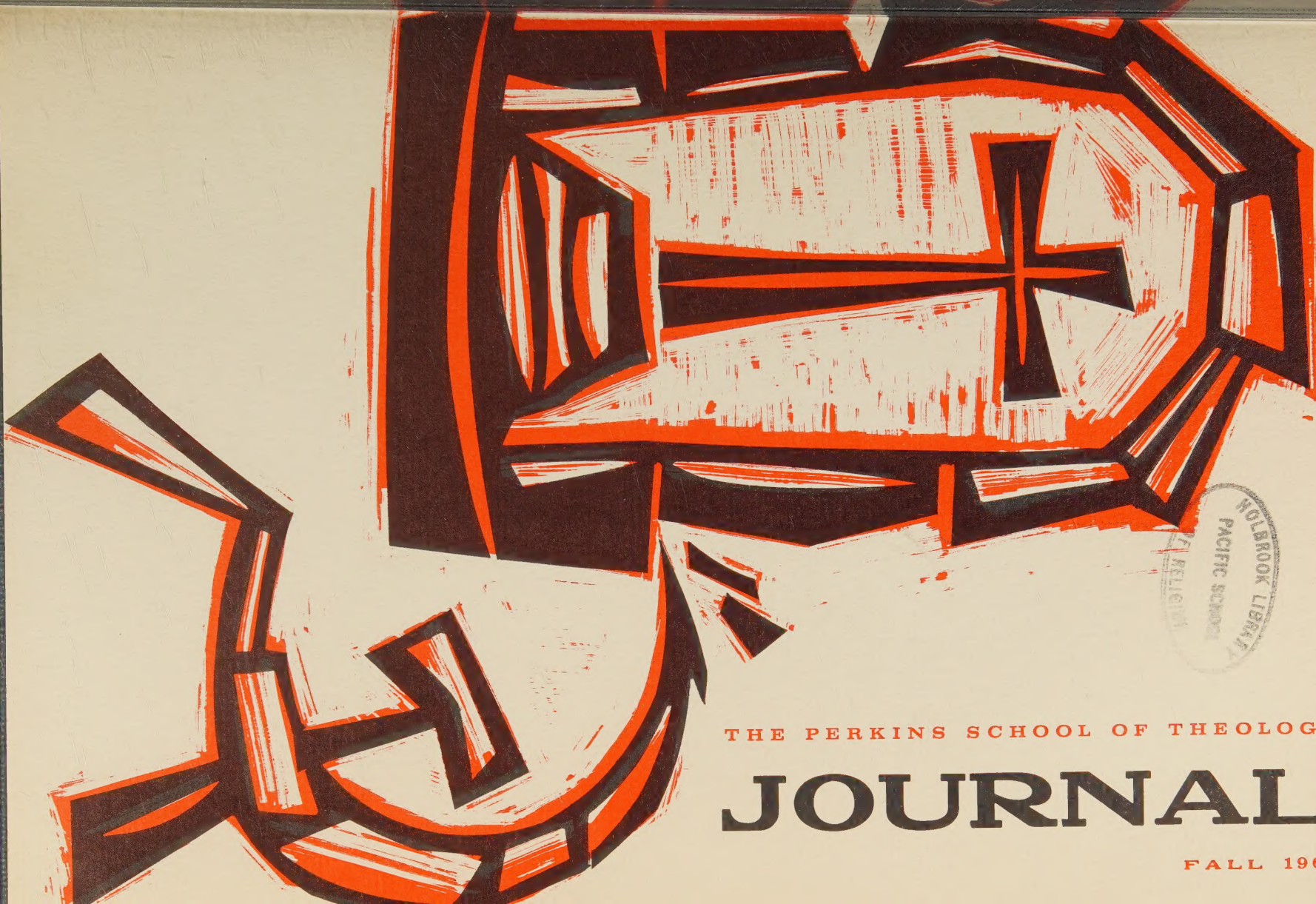

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about this issue

We have been so battered and badgered by the communists and the anti-communists that many of us have decided to build some kind of Christian fall-out shelter. Let the left and the right fight over how dirty the bombs are or are not! We will concentrate on things "spiritual."

But our flight to the spiritual fall-out shelter is found to be no place of refuge at all. Just as we did not fare too well with the idea of a two-story world into which good people (i.e. Christians) could climb and dwell in a sacred realm where no contamination of the world could reach, so we find we are even less successful at seeking shelter in our fall-out refuge. The air down there just can't be breathed.

No up. No down. Just this simple, complex, frantic, peaceful, sanguine old world to live in. No place else to go.

And the communists don't help matters much. Neither do the birchites nor the national indignation meetings nor scared preachers and editors and teachers . . . and laymen.

So, it seems we are always having to take another look at the facts of our existence, and there is no escape from confrontation with communism. We can't get bored or tired with the communists. Here they are—what to do?

John Deschner, Associate Professor of Theology, sets the stance from which a protestant takes a look at "The Protestant Creeds, the Bible, and the Challenge of Communism." He has had unusual opportunities to make sure about what he is speaking through direct and face to face encounter with the communists, as a participant in some of the conversations held under the aegis of the World Student Christian Federation and some of the communist dominated international student associations. He has been in these conversa-

tions as a Christian, not a representative of some powerful political block. In these experiences he has been forced to resort to the foundations of faith, not the varied sciences of politics.

From his years of direct association with Christians on both sides of the iron curtain, while working with Germany's spectacular *Kirchentag,* and as a responsible officer for religious affairs with the allied governments in Germany, Franklin H. Littell is as well equipped as any man alive to deal with "The Christian Encounter with Totalitarianism." Littell returned to the *Kirchentag* sessions in Berlin last summer. He holds the position of Professor of Church History at Perkins.

About the same time this issue of the *Journal* was sent over to the printer to be set in type, Albert C. Outler, Professor of Theology, boarded a jet plane to begin his trip to New Delhi, India, there to assume his responsibilities as a delegate to the World Council of Churches. Like Littell and Deschner, Outler has been immersed in the currents and conflicts of his age. As a scholar he likes to retreat to the age of the Church Fathers, but as a citizen he is on the cutting edge of the social issues that have characterized the twentieth century. He knows the issues that have characterized the twentieth century. He knows the issues through his being on the spot as well as through his reading about them. He sees the issues through the perspective of a historically oriented theologian who is always able to put the present issue into a meaningful context.

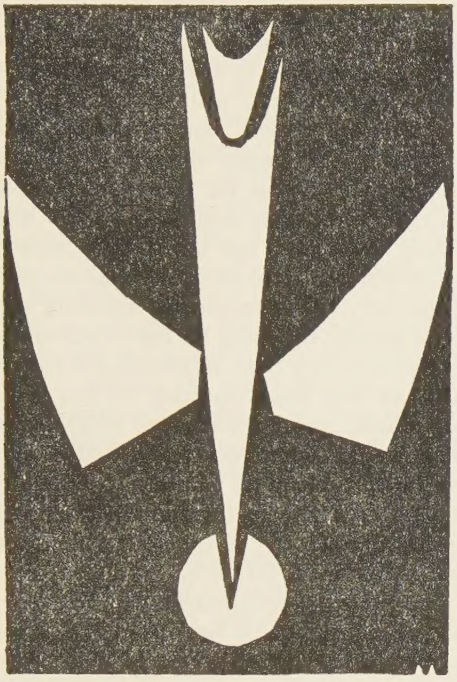
Douglas Jackson, Professor of Sociology of Religion, discusses "The Protestant Churches in a Free Society" through the insights of his studies of the movements and structures of society. Jackson is not only a scholar who examines the data on society and then draws out abstract conclusions, he also participates responsibly as a churchman and a citizen. His civic responsibilities have been many as have those given to him by his church. For instance, he was a delegate from his annual conference (Louisiana) to the last General Conference of the Methodist Church.

The first four papers were prepared as a series of forums sponsored by the Highland Park Methodist Church in Dallas. We are grateful to this church for stimulating our colleagues to write these papers and for allowing us to give them this wider circulation.

The fifth article was written by Joseph L. Allen, Assistant Professor of Social Ethics. When the Board of Christian Social Concerns of the North Texas Annual Conference turned to Allen for professional assistance in the preparation of a special report of the board, he responded with the body of this paper which he has here brought up to date. The board felt, and rightly it seems, that the attacks from both the communists and the anti-communists rated serious attention, and inasmuch as the communist attack is quite well documented, they centered their fire on the attacks of the anti-communists. We appreciate the effort it took to assemble the materials in this paper and the opportunity of publishing it in the *Journal.*

The only guest reviewer in this issue is James Luther Adams, Professor of Christian Ethics at the Harvard Divinity School. He is well known as a translator of German theological writings—especially Paul Tillich's *The Protestant Era.*

—R. O.



John
Deschner

The Protestant Creeds, the Bible, and the Challenge of Communism

Communism challenges the church to be what it is—the church of Jesus Christ. God has given us our own Christian ground to stand on, and through the rise of communism, He challenges us to find our Christian ground and to stand on it. And on this ground God alone is the final Judge of good and evil. This means we are not free, as Christians, to absolutize our judgments about this world, whether East or West. We may not say simply that collectivism is evil, but individualism is good; or that the East is pagan, but the West is godly; or that the Soviet Union is demonic, but the United States are Christian. God alone is good; we are forgiven sinners who are constantly tempted to sin again. This means—and this will be the underlying theme of this lecture—that communism represents both a negative and a positive challenge to the church. Negatively, it challenges us to *resist*—to resist both communism itself, and its opposite

temptations among ourselves. But, more important, positively, it challenges us to *be*—to be not merely more liberal or more conservative, but to be the church of Jesus Christ, the community of reconciled sinners in this world, to be that special people who are *in* but not *of* the world, whether in East or West.

That is, frankly, the conclusion of this lecture. I state it first so you can be more alert as we examine the supporting evidence. And that evidence is in our assigned theme —the creeds and the Bible.

I. The Protestant Creeds

In the 16th and 17th centuries, when most of the Protestant creeds were written, the modern problem of communism was unknown. This does not mean that these confessions are irrelevant to our theme. Rather, we must ask them what they have to say about the two implied themes of the *state* and *property* as understood by Protestantism.

And with respect to these two themes, there is remarkable unanimity. First, concerning the *state*—it is, of course, true that the left wing of the Reformation—the Anabaptists, Quakers, Mennonites, Brethren—taught that it was not right for a Christian to take part in politics, or to take an oath to the state. Their reason was the belief that no Christian could kill without disobeying Christ, and that political life, in general, demanded impossible compromises in the purity of the Christian ethic of love. The main stream of the Reformation, including Methodism, however, understood political life differently. Emphasizing that God forgives the sinner, it was more ready to take seriously the Christian's political involvement. They taught that Christians are to respect and obey civil authority, even when that authority is not explicitly religious in orientation, or even when it holds to an alien faith. Their reason was the New Testament's teaching that all civil authority derives from God, and the statesman bears the sword to restrain evil, and to prevent sinners from creating civil chaos in their thoughtlessness and malice. In fact, all the branches of Protestantism taught that the individual Christian should respect the state for God's sake, no matter what the state commanded, and that if the state commanded what was against God's law, the individual's respect should take the form of disobeying the particular law, and then meekly suffering the state's penalty for doing so. For in acknowledging the state's right to punish, the state's authority was also respected! If you will, they taught exactly what many Negroes are doing in the sit-in movement today: disobeying for reasons of conscience, and then showing their respect for civil order by accepting the penalty of the state until that state makes more just law.

The principal qualification of this attitude of unconditional respect for the state occurred in Calvinism (from which modern Presbyterianism has grown). Calvin allowed that if the ruler was flagrantly unworthy, revolution was possible. But Calvin qualified that: no individual has a right to rebel—to assassinate the ruler, for example. But if the recognized representatives of the subordinate orders of society—the leaders of the church, the military, and the commercial orders—met in orderly assembly, believe that a change of rulers is necessary, and moreover, have a concrete possibility of substituting a better order, then they may depose a ruler. The Scotch, English, and to a certain extent the American revolutions owe much to Calvin's teaching in this respect. But the qualifications are important: he who dares to challenge the authority constituted by God, must recognize that he accepts responsibility for creating a better civil ordering of that same authority; and he must act not merely in his own name, or in the name of a minority, but in the name of the whole community. I could quote to you the relevant passages from classic Protestant creeds, but

perhaps it is not necessary here, and time demands that we press on.[1]

I might add that the Reformers also took a dim view of the Anabaptist tendency to teach a common ownership of *property*. In general, they recognize a qualified right of private property, as the Roman Catholic theologians of the Middle Ages had done. There is one cardinal limitation: each holds his property as God's steward, and is responsible to God for its rightful use. And without exception, the Reformers teach that right use of property includes giving generous help to the needy brother.

I imagine however, that you are much more interested in how the Methodist Standards of Doctrine view the institutions of state and property. Not so long ago Lynn Landrum reminded us that the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Church recognize the legitimacy of the American government, and the right of private property, and he hinted that many a Methodist minister today ought to remind himself of this fact. How does it stand with the Methodist Standards of Doctrine?

I need to make a preliminary remark about those Standards, for it is news to many Methodists that we have any. Are we not the church which prides itself on thinking and letting others think? Don't we say, "If your heart is right, give me your hand?" The fact is that not only Wesley, but the Constitution of our own church establishes quite clear standards of doctrine. Every minister pledges himself not to preach or teach contrary to them. What is not often recognized is that laymen as well as ministers can be tried in our church for "disseminating doctrines contrary to the Articles of Religion or other established standards of doctrine" (Meth. *Discipline,* par. 969). But what are the Standards of Doctrine? There are three, plus a fourth document which has a somewhat similar status. The first is the *Twenty-five Articles of Religion* found at the beginning of our discipline. These are essentially Wesley's abridgement of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church, which in turn are a kind of typical Anglo-Saxon mixture of the best in the ancient, medieval, and Reformation traditions. It would require another lecture to explain them. Suffice it here to say that, although no one is asked to confine his Christian confession to the old language of these articles, neither is one permitted to disseminate a gospel which is essentially contradictory of the basic positions taken here. I wish we paid more attention to them: they are a great charter of liberty for our church.

The remaining two standards of doctrine can be determined only by studying what the Methodist fathers understood by "our present, existing, and established standards of doctrine" in the year 1808, when our Methodist Constitution was adopted. I cannot outline the historical demonstration here. Suffice it to say that they meant Wesley's forty-four *Standard Sermons,* and Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament.* The *Standard Sermons* are a kind of classic statement of the basic Wesleyan preaching, and the *Notes* are a small volume containing Wesley's own translation of the New Testament (for he, too, was not content with the King James Version!), plus many footnotes which show how he understood the doctrine of the New Testament. The inclusion of the *Notes on the New Testament* is important, for it highlights what each of the standard documents explicitly claims: that no one can hold necessary for salvation in the Methodist Church any teaching which is not found in the Old and New Testaments. Our standard documents, themselves, disclaim the final word: that word belongs to Scripture.

A fourth document, which is not explicitly named a standard, but which the disci-

[1] For example: (Lutheran) *Angsburg Confession,* Art. XVI, of Civil Affairs; (Reformed) *Gallican Confession of Faith,* Arts. XXXIX and XL; (Anglican) *Thirty-Nine Articles,* Art. XXXVII, of the Power of Civil Magistrates, Art. XXXVIII, of Christian Men's Goods, which are not common, Art. XXXIX, of a Christian Man's Oath.

pline requires to be read annually in the churches and explained to the people, is the *General Rules of the Methodist Societies.* There are three general rules: one must do no harm, one must do all the good one can, and one must use the means of grace (public and private worship). Wesley then spelled these rules out with some eighteenth century illustrations, some of which are neglected because dated, and some because they are too pointed. I urge you to read them imaginatively for yourself. They, too, can be found at the beginning of the Methodist *Discipline.*

But, now, what do these standard documents teach concerning the state and property? Let me give you a brief impression.

Our 23rd article of religion does not contain an explicit doctrine of the state. It merely recognizes the legitimacy of the American government, and that was a necessity in a time when Methodism in America was accused of sympathy with the British cause. This article has been adjusted for Methodists in mission areas to teach obedience to all legitimate governing authority and in the adjustment a somewhat stronger reference to the New Testament doctrine is suggested: namely, that rulers receive their authority from God. Article 24 teaches that "the riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as some do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability."

It would not be legitimate, however, to say that these articles justify us to make a religious ideology of the American form of government, or to teach an unqualified right to private property. The American form of government is just as legitimate as it is just (a teaching which applies to all governments), and private property is not absolutely ours, it is absolutely God's, and ours only as stewards for His purposes. That becomes clear as we look into the other standards of doctrine.

Take the *General Rules* (not a standard, but a document with a similar force). No Methodist is permitted to hold slaves (be they his property or not!), to hold goods on which the duty is unpaid, to lay up treasure on earth, to borrow without the possibility of repaying, or to speak evil of a magistrate or minister. Moreover, he is to give "as far as possible" to the needy ("as far as possible," not "as far as he wishes"), to buy from fellow Christians when he can, to help his Christian brother in his business, and (a special Wesleyan emphasis) to be frugal in establishing his standard of living.

Again, when we turn to the *Standard Sermons,* we find that the Christian is expected to let his faith show itself in his active love of all men; he is not to hide his religion from the world as a personal or private matter (On the Sermon on the Mount, V). In the sermon entitled "A Caution Against Bigotry" he is urged to be charitable in dealing with those of a different belief or no belief at all. In the Sermon on "Catholic Spirit" (or as we would say, "Ecumenical Spirit") he is warned against shutting himself off from those who do not think as he does about religion and moral duties. In "The Cure of Evil Speaking" he is enjoined in the strongest terms from telling lies about his neighbor, and is instructed to confront his offending neighbor directly and privately with his accusations. In another standard sermon Wesley defends the poor and points out (with psychological insight) that poverty subjects them to the indignity of being laughed at (Heaviness through Manifold Temptations, III, 3). Moreover, he notices that poverty is not merely a matter of lack of industry, but also a matter of unjust social organization. And in his famous sermon on "The Use of Money" Wesley makes it plain in what sense the right of private property is a qualified right.

Let me pause a moment here. Wesley of-

fers three principles for the use of money: 1) *Gain all you can.* But even that injunction is qualified. One must not gain wealth at the expense of one's own life and health (he has pointed words about getting enough sleep!), and at the injury of one's healthful mind. And most particularly he may not gain wealth at the injury of his neighbor's substance, body, mind, or spirit. Listen to him: "We cannot devour the increase of his lands . . . or by requiring or taking such interest as even the laws of our country forbid . . . We cannot, consistent with brotherly love, sell our goods below the market price; we cannot study to ruin our neighbor's trade, in order to advance our own; much less can we entice away, or receive, any of his servants or workingmen whom he has need of. None can gain by swallowing up his neighbor's substance, without gaining the damnation of hell!" 2) The second rule is: *Save all you can,* and here Wesley does not mean laying up treasure, but being frugal in expenditure, in order that God may have more of your money to use for His purposes. 3) The third rule is: *give all you can.* And for Wesley this means not giving what is convenient, but what you don't need for a responsible, modest family standard of living. For your substance belongs to God, and you are His workman. Wesley, for his part, although he earned a fortune through his writing, left behind him an estate consisting in its entirety of one well-used teapot.

When we turn to the *Notes on the New Testament,* we find emphasis relatively stronger on the doctrine of the state. Commenting on Rom. 13:1 (cf. notes on Rom. 13:3, I Pet. 2:13) he notes that all civil powers are from God, whether used consciously in his service or not. All rulers are His "vice-regents." We owe rulers the duty of paying taxes, although worship belongs to God alone (note on Rom. 13:7). We are to pray for all in authority, not only for Christians in authority (note on I Tim. 2:2). Christians are indeed free from the state, but they are free to obey the ruler for *God's* sake (note on I Pet. 2:16), for they believe that God has given Christ "uncontrollable authority over all princes" (note on Acts 2:45). Here is the classic Christian doctrine—the doctrine of the mainstream of the Reformation—that all constituted authority is from God, and is to be obeyed, even when that costs suffering. But all civil authority is also under God, and must answer for its justice. The Christian's loyalty to the state is therefore always a critical loyalty, for his ultimate loyalty is to God. And that teaching goes for any state—the state of George III as well as the state of George Washington, by implication, the state of Khrushchev as well as the state of Eisenhower and Kennedy.

With reference to the right to private property, the *Notes* are also not silent. Wesley's note on Luke 16:12 states the essential position: No "temporal things are yours: you are only stewards of them, not proprietors. God is the Proprietor of all: He lodges them in your hands for a season; but they are still His property. Rich men, understand and consider this. If your steward uses any part of your estate . . . any further or any otherwise than you direct, . . . he has neither conscience nor honour. Neither have you either one or the other, if you use any part of that estate which is in truth God's, not yours, any otherwise than He directs." And Wesley's notes on the story of Annanias and Sapphira in Acts, the church members who lied about what they could share, is entirely in line with this understanding.

Perhaps this background can throw the right light on Methodism's 24th Article. Our church teaches that "The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same." But it does not hold, as we might be tempted to think, that the right, title, and possession of property therefore belongs absolutely to the private individual. Property belongs fundamentally neither to the

community nor to the individual, but to God, and therefore, as the article continues, "every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give . . . to the poor, according to his ability."

Let's sum up the Methodist teaching on the state and property this way. All political power comes from God, and is to be respected as such, even when, in conscience the Christian must disobey it and suffer the consequences. Yet political authority is under the judgment of God to be just. Likewise, all property belongs to God, and men are stewards of it, to use it for God's purposes. The consequences for our theme are plain. Both communist and non-communist governments, if established and constituted, are to be respected as *de facto* bearers of a power which is God's, yet both are to be held accountable for the justice of their administration. This does not mean acquiesence to a communist threat. It means vigilance and above all responsibility. If a communist government is to be opposed or overthrown, those responsible must be prepared to offer a realistic alternative of public order, better than the one which is opposed. It is not Christian merely to foment civil disorder. I, for one, cannot regard any of the Western efforts to stimulate the Hungarian revolution of 1956, to have been responsible, which were unwilling and unable to follow through in helping the Hungarians establish a more responsible government of their own. In that episode, the West came dangerously near the Marxist-Leninist position of holding that merely to create disorder in the state is to serve justice. But that can never be the Christian position. For even a communist government, godless as it professes to be, is the *de facto* bearer of God's power until a responsible national revolution is able, quite concretely, to offer a practical certainty of substituting a better order for it, and thus to assume responsibility for bearing in a better way, with a minimum of intermediate chaos, the authority and power which God intends that land to have.

Likewise with the doctrine of property. We must oppose the communist doctrine that ownership of property belongs to the community. But not in the name of the doctrine that ownership of property belongs to the individual. Both positions stand under God's judgment that all things are His, to be used for His purposes. And His purposes include responsible distribution of goods to both the individual and to the community. Should that weaken us in our opposition to communism? No, it should strengthen us, for it should liberate us from the dangerous temptation of thinking that we oppose communism in the name of individualism. We oppose both communism and individualism in the name of God's justice. And that means that the threat which communism poses to the Protestant churches in America is two edged; we are threatened by a communist doctrine that denies that all things are God's; but we are also threatened by a subtler doctrine that holds that all things are mine. The only strong position in the face of both challenges is to look at both the state and property in the light of the justice which God demands for all. You may think that is idealistic and naive, but I ask you to consider whether it may not be the foolishness of God, and quite practically the only strong fundamental position for any of us in these challenging times.

II. The Bible

I have need of much more time to deal with this aspect of my assigned theme, and it is actually the much more important aspect, as even our Methodist standards hold. Let me offer here only the briefest sketch of what might be said.[2]

[2] For a more detailed discussion, partly reflected in the following, see *A Theological Wordbook of the Bible,* edited by Alan Richardson, Macmillan, New York, 1955, especially the articles on "Authority," "City," "Kingdom of God," "Poor." See also *The State in The New Testament,* Oscar Cullmann.

1. I assume that we are above thinking that the principal problem here is which translation of the Bible we shall use. I respectfully ask those who persist in attacking the RSV version to be sure that they are not secretly attacking the Bible itself, as well as breaking the Ninth Commandment which forbids us to bear false witness against our neighbor. For my part, I find that I need all the help I can get from the various translations to understand the original text, and none of the translations are entirely satisfactory. But the question of translation is a side issue. The Bible is quite powerful enough to disturb our complacency in any translation, and I want you to consider the Bible itself.

2. Let us also beware of thinking that the Bible can simply be enlisted in furthering any human cause, even the causes of fighting conservatism or communism. The Bible serves no cause but God's, and that means that we must be prepared to become humble before it, and let it redefine our problems for us. I am deeply convinced that the basic question which the Bible poses for us in the matter of communism is not, how can we more strongly oppose it, but when will the church live like the church? More than once the Biblical writers faced our situation—threat from Assyria, Babylon, Rome—and their message is without fail: this external threat is a sign of God's judgment on his own people; repent and believe the gospel, cease from idolatry, and show forth in this world a kind of community life which will be salt, indeed, seasoning the life of the entire community. The Bible transforms our human problems; that is the fundamental point which we simply have to accept.

3. The Biblical doctrine of the *state* has already been suggested in the creeds. From the Old Testament comes the overpowering witness that history is in the hands of God, first of all. He raises up not only Israel, but godless Persia as an instrument to call Israel back to His purposes (Isaiah 45). He intends his justice and mercy to be for all men, and for Israel to be the community which embodies this message before the nations (Isaiah 2). In the New Testament, this teaching is made more pointed. We are to give Caesar what belongs to him—respect, obedience, taxes, but to God alone what belongs to God—worship, ultimate obedience, and service of His purpose of bringing about justice among all his children. This is Jesus' teaching (Mark 13). It is made more particular by Paul (Rom. 13). It is emphasized in I Timothy 2, where we are enjoined to pray for all rulers. And it is even taught in that enigmatic chapter, Revelation 13, where in facing the demonic Roman state, the church is warned, quite explicitly, that if any one takes up the sword, "with the sword must he be slain." The church's loyalty to the state—any state—must be a critical loyalty—fundamentally *loyalty* for God's sake; but *critical loyalty,* because our ultimate loyalty belongs to God and his purposes.

4. It is similar with respect to the Biblical teaching about *property*. The Bible does not hold wealth to be evil—that would be to blaspheme God's good creation. But it constantly warns against the dangerous temptations which accompany wealth—cupidity, greed, and uncontrollable desire for more (I Tim. 6:10, Lk. 12:33ff.). Wealth is not a sign of divine favor (Job 21:7ff.), but a sign of greater responsibility to God. And the poor—those who are both humble and humbled by their lack of goods—are continually taken as an example of the spiritual attitude which God desires of all, and especially of the wealthy. Indeed, there is a one-sided Biblical emphasis on God's love for the poor, just for this reason (Lk. 6:20). They find it much easier to come into the kingdom, says Jesus, for it is easier for them to see that their treasure is really in God's hands, rather than in their own (Matt. 19:23ff.). It is the rich man, Dives, who, unlike Lazarus, thinks that his

wealth represents the "good things," who is unable to attain the fellowship of the Father (Lk. 16:25). It is the rich man, building barns, for future possessions, who suffers in Jesus' parable the hardest rebuke of all, "Thou Fool!" (Lk. 12:20). But wealth, as such, is God's good, and it is to be shared, as Jesus teaches (Lk. 12:33). Moreover, although all of it belongs to God, and is to be shared till it hurts, the attitude with which it is given is more important than the sum involved (Mt. 6:2-4, Lk. 21:1-4). It is surely significant that Jesus and his disciples used a common purse, which did not deny individual income. But the surest example is Jesus himself, who in the words of Paul, "though he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor"—poor even to the giving of his life on the cross—"that you through his poverty might become rich" (II Cor. 8:9, cf. 6:10).

5. Much more time is needed to make these teachings plain, but I think no one of us really escapes their point. The Bible addresses us in our attitude toward communism on two points: 1) It asks us to worship no state, and to judge all states in the light of God's justice, letting our struggle in this world be a matter of spiritual warfare in which we are ready to suffer in order to bear witness to God's establishment of political order and justice. 2) It asks us to represent God's economy in this world—an economy in which each has an opportunity to earn, and in which the Christian shows the way in the prodigality of his giving to those in need. I believe that there would be no surer way of showing this world that we know something better than communism, than for us Americans to show that what God has given us is theirs, for responsible use. I submit for your reflection that the principal thing wrong with "foreign aid" is the word "foreign." We have no right, under God, to make our American nationality an excuse for making false divisions between those who are "foreign" and those who are "our own," especially when it comes to the use of God's wealth. I do not overlook the problems involved in giving money responsibly—I regard the giving of money Christianly as a harder thing than getting it Christianly, if that is possible. But "foreign aid" is wrong because we think some are "foreign" to us. That we have been given our wealth primarily to "aid" those who need help in a responsible way—of that there can be no serious Christian discussion.

III. Implications

I have to bring this lecture to an end, and wish to do so by letting this teaching of the creeds and the Bible have its proper cutting edge for us all. In doing so I am trying to be faithful to Wesley who taught his preachers that "an unapplied sermon does no more good than the singing of a lark!"

1. The gospel requires us to see that our wealth must burn in our hands until we know to whom to give it responsibly. We have been playing at giving up to now. Our church prides itself on the size of its benevolence budget. We ought to be ashamed. We could give four times as much and not feel hurt, four times as much and still be far behind the standard which Wesley has set for us, not to mention Jesus. It need not all be given through this church; perhaps it could be given even more imaginatively. But this matter of stewardship is not a little side issue; it is well nigh the basic point where Highland Park Church tells the world what it thinks of the gospel. I hope the budget committee is listening, and I for one am ready to be approached—more, I desperately need to be approached, for I, no less than you, know how to justify myself in this matter.

2. The gospel requires us to see that God is on the side of the poor, until they have an opportunity to share responsibility in the material abundance of God's world. This means not merely philanthropy, but *social justice*, and not only in this country, but

in every country. For the Christian must confess, as no other can, that nothing human is foreign to him. That ought to have consequences for the tax discussion now going on in Austin, and for the foreign aid and foreign policy discussions in Washington, and for the measures to help our own depressed areas. This does not mean merely taking a partisan political position, for neither of our parties has yet shown itself to have a monopoly on the Christian conscience in this matter. But the basic point is clear: true liberty is never merely the liberty to do what we wish; it is liberty to obey God! If the church is really the church she will stand not only for individual liberty but also for social justice both in America and overseas. (I know of no more appropriate way to respond to the challenge which God puts us through the rise of communism.)

3. The gospel requires us to respect the state—all states—in the very moment that we are striving for just states. We cannot divide this world into godly and ungodly halves, thinking that God's authority is only with one half and not with the other, for God's authority and power are universal. This means talking with foreign governments—with the Chinese, e.g.—, negotiating with them, resisting them where we must, strengthening them where we can do so justly, and most particularly recognizing that the issue today is not American Christiandom versus world communism, but world Christianity making her witness in the midst of many quite imperfect, confused, sometimes even malicious governments. For the church is really there, on both sides of the iron curtain, and she is making her witness to the state on both sides. That, if not the gospel, should impel us to think respectfully of the relation of Christianity and the state, and in much wider terms than is our wont.

4. The gospel requires us to oppose the systems of this world by manifesting the order and justice of God. Our weapons are essentially positive ones. And if it comes to negative ones, then let us use them with great care, aware of the temptation to idolize them. The medieval picture of the Christian knight, armed for his crusade against evil is a very bad picture of the Christian soldier in this world. Much truer to the gospel is the second century Christian standing in the arena before his emperor, praying for the justice of the Roman state at the very moment when this state is seeking to destroy him. Do you think that is weakness? No, it is a picture of men being strong in the strength of God. I remind you that this kind of warfare actually changed much more of this world's history than ever the crusades did.

5. I close with a very modest point, but possibly one of those details which is very important in the light of the gospel. It certainly was to Wesley. The gospel requires that we should not "rejoice at wrong, but rejoice at the right." (I Cor. 13:6). A Christian knows enough about his own sin, not to devote his time to seeking out the sins of his brother. More important he knows that God has given his love to all sinners, and that God's judgment takes the form of His willingness to suffer until His children come to themselves. Don't we need to apply that elementary teaching to the life of our church? Haven't we had enough of a quite indecent probing around for the brother's faults, as well as enough of the accused brother trying to defend himself in the rightness of his ways? The Christian may not "bear false witness against his neighbor." We certainly have a responsibility to help the brother obey God. But there is a Christian way to do that. If we are given to discover a fault, we are obliged to go first to the brother, in secret, and learn whether it is true, whether it is really sin (and not perhaps the very point where the brother is trying to confess his discipleship to the Master). Where there is sin, the church has a responsibility to uncover it, and attempt to heal it, responsibly,

in the orderly way (i.e., through church trial before constituted church authorities, both lay and clerical). Where there is only difference of opinion, let the church show the world how men live together who cannot humanly agree on any other point than their common loyalty to Christ. For that is our great witness in this world: to be a community which manifests reconciled corporate living in a world which only knows how to fight when there is deep disagreement. What is the challenge of communism to the Protestant churches? It is first and last, not merely to resist collectivism or individualism, but to *be* and *live* like the *church* in this world, offering all men, for whom Christ suffered, the love which the Christian alone, perhaps, has learned to give.

I do not regard it as either naive or unrealistic, therefore—although it may seem foolish, foolish as God is foolish—to say that the strongest, most realistic answer which the church can give to communism is to offer a concrete corporate witness in this world to a quality of love which is patient and kind, which is not jealous or boastful, which is not arrogant or rude, which bears all things, believes all things, is not irritable or resentful, which does not rejoice at wrong, but rejoices in the right, which bears all things, believes all things, endures all things, hopes all things, knowing that faith, hope and this love remain—after all the struggles of history have broken themselves against it—but that the greatest of these three is love.

Douglas Jackson

Protestant Churches in a Free Society

The term "American Way of Life" slips easily off our tongues, but we rarely bother to define it. When we pause to think about what we mean by this term, there are several elements that each of us would include in a definition. The stereotype of the American way of life includes the Protestant Church, a capitalistic economy, and a democratic society. These three elements which we include in the American way of life are institutions that are valued by all of us. We believe so much in them that very, very frequently we confuse the three; we are not quite sure whether capitalism is an expression of democracy or not. We do believe that all three of these institutions are valued parts of our heritage.

The free church has very frequently meant the Protestant Church. (This is not meant as a negative word against Catholicism.) The idea that there should be a separation of church and state and that the civil authority should not control the church was an idea that was expressed before the founding of America. The first time it was tested in operation, however, was when Roger Williams stood trial in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Roger Williams denied the right of the civil authorities to tell him what he should believe and how he should respond to this belief in terms of religious action. When he was tried by fifty of the

most prominent selectmen of Massachusetts Bay Colony he could not find a lawyer who would defend him. It was felt that his views were so heretical that certainly they must stand under the judgment, not only of the government, but of God also. So Roger Williams undertook his own defense and was pushed out into the wilderness of Rhode Island. There he established a church that was democratically oriented.

In a chapter by Robert Lekachman in the pamphlet called "The Churches and the Public" he states: "If Protestants and Jews do not arouse comparable fears [as does the authority or structure of Roman Catholicism], it is not because Americans have carefully examined the doctrines of the various denominations, given them high marks for democratic spirits, and endorsed the libertarian conduct of church affairs. Church government among Protestants is by no means uniformly "democratic" and no sect determines the tenets of its faith by the techniques of public opinion survey or the secret ballot. The ground of judgment is much more pragmatic. Protestant and Jewish denominations are fragmented and weak. Occasionally their public positions cancel each other out; relatively infrequently they combine effectively to promote common ends. A society can tolerate any doctrine or any procedure if the organizations that preach the one and practice the other are weak and ineffective." So we don't get excited and call the Protestant churches authoritarian, even though they are not democratic in structure. But, when the churches do unite and do begin to speak through councils with a relatively unified voice, then it appears that they are gaining strength and that their words will be heard in the councils of state. Opposition then arises to the words of the Councils of Churches, just as it has arisen to words of the Roman Catholic Church in previous periods.

Protestantism actually had more than an incidental relationship to democracy and capitalism. These three forms of institutional life actually arose almost simultaneously as expressions of the desire for freedom on the part of man. As man broke away from the constraints of the church-dominated life of the feudalistic society, from a government that was closely ordered within frames of nobility, and from an ordered class structure that was not open but closely contained, he sought for freedom in all areas of life.

Roman Catholicism has not given any unqualified blessing to democracy or to capitalism as so many protestant churches have. Roman Catholicism traditionally has stated that all institutional arrangements are subject to misuse and frequently are misused. There is no perfect political order that is ordained of God as the type that is always to prevail. There is not a perfect economic structure that has existed in history; every economic structure contains numerous injustices and inequities. The Roman Church has not spoken out against democracy, although on occasion there have been those who have quoted the various encyclicals out of context to say that the Roman Catholic Church was far more happy with a monarchy or with a dictatorship than it was with a democracy. At certain periods in history this might have been true. At other periods it was far from being true. We know that the Vatican has been able to sign concordats with Mussolini, with Hitler, and with other dictators of less renown. It seems to get along very well with dictatorships, but it is also noteworthy that it has been able to operate within Protestant and democratic regimes. There are many prominent Catholics who look forward to a stronger adherence to democracy.

The Roman Catholic Church has many words to say against capitalism. These words can be found in various sources and they represent the major strain of thought of the Roman church. In Pope Leo XIII's famous

encylical named *Rerum novarum*, he delivers a very strong blast against communism (it is called socialism, for the term in that day meant communism), but also a strong word against capitalism. A later encyclical called *Quadragesimo anno* also supported the rights of the workers and described how these were denied in traditional capitalistic economies. Such a fine preacher and brilliant writer as Bishop Fulton J. Sheen in his book *Communism and the Conscience of the West* condemns capitalism as well as communism.

Now, what does this say? It says that the Roman Church holds that there are values to be obtained in an economic structure that the church should speak about, that every structure stands under the judgment of God, and there should be no installing of a particular economic system in a position of final authority. The Roman Church does not spell out the details of the perfect economic order. It does give us a number of principles to seek after, but it does not prescribe exactly the details of the perfect economic order.

The practice of Protestantism is quite different. Protestantism has frequently placed its blessing on both capitalism and democracy; it has seemed to say that all three of these institutions are so joined together as to be interdependent. If one fails, the other two are in great danger. A great German sociologist, Max Weber, wrote a tremendously important work in which he stated that capitalism could not have developed without the spirit of Protestantism that came from John Calvin. Alhough John Calvin was no economist, his theories concerning religious knowledge made possible a climate within which capitalism could develop. The followers of Calvin actually reached the point where they blessed money-making; this was nowhere more apparent than in New England. Among those people who sought religious liberty were also persons who sought great wealth. They believed that great wealth would demonstrate God's approval; God's reward for righteousness was riches.

Despite these misinterpretations of Calvin, critics within the church were able to see that capitalism had many shortcomings. At a very early period Protestantism produced people who spoke out clearly and concisely about the problems of capitalism.

There was a period when the tension grew so great that a number of people tried to separate Protestantism, capitalism, and democracy, denying that they were necessarily interdependent. It was believed that Protestantism could survive well in a society that was not democratic, and that it could survive and perhaps flourish even more in an economy that was not capitalistic. Also, the opinion was advanced that democracy was in no way dependent upon either Christianity or capitalism.

During the same period, democracy became almost a god for humanism. Many of the humanists declared that the church was unnecessary. They labored valiantly in the cause of this new god, democracy, thus increasing some of the tensions between democratic society and Protestantism.

The first critic of capitalism within Protestantism was British Charles Kingsley, an excellent rector of the Anglican Church, well known as an author. He wrote a novel, *Alton Locke,* in 1849. In this novel he detailed living conditions of the working people. In dramatic form he described all the horrors and evils that Karl Marx later wrote about in *Das Kapital.* Kingsley, before Marx, made the statement that religion is the opiate of the people. The phrase is usually attributed to Karl Marx, but Karl Marx got it from Charles Kingsley, a minister of the Church of England.

Kingsley made no attempt to tear down religion. In 1848, the same year that Karl Marx produced the *Communist Manifesto,* many of the free churches of Britain had advised their people to take part in the

Chartist movement. This movement sought to revise the rules of the electorate and to grant to the ordinary working man the privilege of the vote. Here was an attempt to reform democracy by taking it from the control of the aristocracy and giving it a much wider base of operations.

Karl Marx wrote about the evils of capitalism from his investigations of the official reports of the British government. Horrible examples that he gave were not contrived. They were items secured from official government documents. The problems that arose from his writings were in his interpretations and solutions. Marx stated that he did not become an atheist because of his economic views. He brought his atheism with him to the interpretation of economics. He attacked religion along with many other facets of our society. In the *Communist Manifesto,* as he strikes out against religion, he states that the ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely give expression to the sway of free competition. Since the priest has become the paid worker of the capitalist, he must be eliminated in the same way that all other capitalists are to be eliminated.

In another passage he states: "The parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord." Then he asks the question, "Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the state?" But he answers, "Christian socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart burnings of the aristocrat."

Even in the early period, before the writing of the *Manifesto,* he was speaking very strongly against Christianity. He did this, not because he was a Communist, but because he was an atheist. He put the stamp of atheism upon all communism for he said that he wrote as a scientific man.

Lenin in his little pamphlet, *Religion,* has stated four principles: "(1) Atheism is an integral part of Marxism . . . (2) The demand for the complete separation of the church and the state, and the church and the school must be made. (3) The winning over of the proletariat is accomplished, principally by dealing with their everyday economic and political interests; consequently the propaganda in favor of atheism must grow out of, and be carefully related to the defense of these interests. (4) The final emancipation of the toiling masses from religion will occur only after the proletarian revolution, only in a Communist society. This, however, is not a reason for postponing the propaganda for atheism. Rather does it emphasize its urgency in subordination to the general needs of the workers' class struggle."

The Communist International Sixth World Congress in 1928 stated that: "One of the most important tasks of the cultural revolution affecting the wide masses is the task of systematically and unswervingly combating *religion*—the opium of the people." So, we know and we have known for long periods of time that Communism is opposed to religion. It is opposed to Christianity, and when it does make temporary arrangements whereby it does not persecute Christianity, it does so with no change of long range purpose. This long range purpose is the eventual extinction of all religion This is, I think, thoroughly understood.

Religion, as it is seen by Communism, is a strong support of a number of the other elements in the culture. Religion undergirds the political society as well as the economy of the capitalists. Democracy is to us an extremely important system that has deep roots in Christianity, in Protestant Christianity. This view is commonly preached and proclaimed within the churches.

There have been those who have questioned this professed relationship. They do not see any necessity for continuing support of democracy within the church. A

generation ago some said that democracy was unworthy of the support of the churches. These held that democracy was a word we used to rationalize what we liked. I think of such a book as *Folklore of Capitalism* written by Thurman Arnold in 1937. It was an important book, widely read by college students in those days. Mr. Arnold stated that the basic cause of our political confusion in America arose from a naive faith in the existence of "thinking man." The thinking man was able to discern, so the people thought, right principles and to prefer them to false ones. Arnold didn't believe in such a thinking man. He stated that no competent phychologist believed in such a man. He said that in our government too many people insist that politicians should make rational appeals to the thinking man. He said that many people falsely and foolishly insisted that one should study the relative merits of communism, fascism, capitalism and democracy. They were still naive enough to believe that something valuable could come from such discussions. The trouble with respectable people is that they had faith in principles rather than faith in organizations. He exposed the way that modern American advertising had developed, "No modern advertiser would attempt to sell his product by appealing to reason. He wouldn't think about using rational appeals." He said that in government the concept of rational appeals still reigned supreme. Men were still asked to diagnose the ills of social organizations through the darkened lens of legal or economic theories. They still worried about choosing a system of government. He added, "Thank God, the politicians aren't acting that way. They don't have theories and they don't have principles. They just act."

Arnold held that what was wrong with us was our belief in the reality of law, justice and rights—these beliefs were really infantile. Although he spoke with a glow of warmth that dictatorships did frankly and openly what we democratic societies did through deceit, he was disturbed by the cruelty of Germany and Italy and Russia. He said the wrong kind of people had gotten control in these countries, not seeing that the failure to have principles had always resulted in the wrong kind of people gaining control.

The American churches have supported a belief in the rational and moral nature of democratic governments. The American government has recognized and appreciated the support of the churches. Democracy needs Christianity to give it strength. Democracy needs Christianity to point out the way of truth. Democracy's faith can be built only upon certain principles inherent within Christianity.

Samuel Strunk of Vanderbilt has delivered this credo for democracy: "At the heart of democratic political theory is a faith in the dignity of man, in his rational capacity, in his capacity for achieving goodness and justice, and in the inalienability of certain rights which are his by virtue of his humanity. By the dignity of man is meant that each person is to be protected against physical or moral abuse and against discrimination because of the accidents of sex, religion, or race. This dignity is further buttressed by a faith in the inalienability of such rights as freedom and equality."

He continued, "Neither freedom nor equality is an absolute right, for in a democracy our freedom is circumscribed by the rules of conduct to which we voluntarily submit, and our equality is not one of mathematical exactness but is limited by our own capacities."

Such a great scholar as James Hastings Nichols states that the whole spirit and drive of democracy in this country grew out of Puritanism, and that unless we have the fervor and zeal for righteousness that the Puritans had, the democracy cannot exist long—perhaps for a generation or two

as a cut-flower civilization, but not much longer than that. The democracy that the church supports gives benefits to the church. It allows the church to operate within freedom. It does not seek to control the beliefs that people may have. It shows its concern for the church by various kinds of concessions which the government makes to the church that it does not make to other kinds of institutions. Democracy and the church have been closely intertwined for a long period of time.

Democracy now has a formidable antagonist in communism. Communism is also the antagonist of capitalism and the churches. Although in some places it allows the churches and capitalism to exist, it is dedicated to the eventual extinction of both. Democracy, Christianity, and capitalism have a common foe. Because we have a common foe does not mean that each one of these institutions must automatically bless every activity of the other institutions. Each of these agencies has its own standards of judgment about what is the right and proper action in the conflict with communism.

The church, recognizing its serious opposition from communism, has operated in ways differing from capitalism or democracy. The church has listened to what communism has had to say. It has felt a deep pang of guilt from some of the things that have been said about the churches by communism. Not all of the criticisms of the church by communism have been false. Some of them have been true. The hurt and the wound is deeper. The church has been penitent before communism, feeling that communism has been sent by God as a judgment on the church. (This kind of statement is frequently misunderstood by those who are outside the religious community, but it must be said.)

Amos came to the people of Samaria and proclaimed that God had sent the Scythians upon them as a punishment. This did not mean that Amos loved the Scythians or that God particularly loved the Scythians over the Hebrews. God had to punish his people for their sins. Many churchmen regard communism as an evil force that has sprung up with but a vestige of truth in it, but a sizable part of its truth lay in its criticism of the church. For too long a period of time the church has preached an other-worldly religion. The words of the communist song, "By and by, pie in the sky," did describe many religious groups. There were numerous religious groups that said, "If you are suffering now, be happy. The more you suffer now, the greater will be your reward when you get to heaven."

Neither democracy nor Christianity can accept such other-worldliness. Our responsibility as citizens requires us to see that justice is gained now. We need not be dependent upon heaven for a rectification of the inequities.

When the Communist regime came to Russia it could damn the church in Russia for its anti-semitic hatred. Frequently the priests of the Russian church had led the Cossacks into a Jewish village where a slaughter of the Jewish people was undertaken in the name of the church. How could this be justified? The church did not seek to justify it. It fell on its knees and confessed to God, asked forgiveness and for strength to live better in the future. (This kind of religious response is not understood by people who are not familiar with the pattern of seeking forgiveness.)

Some of the churches were greatly excited about the Communist promise of justice in the economic order. Most of our churches have not trained the clerics to be good economists. Economics is a difficult science at the best; the art of exact prediction frequently escapes even skilled economists. A simple economic arrangement that proposes to solve all the problems, neatly and easily, has a lot of appeal—not only to churchmen but to others as well.

In the period before the errors of communism became apparent, some churchmen decided that communism ought to be given a trial; perhaps it did have the economic answers. In the period of the 1920's and 1930's a number of Protestant churchmen actually felt that communism should be given a good chance to see if it could find a more Christian answer to economic problems. This was in the period before the stark, tyrranical character of communism was fully known.

One of the greatest American theologians is Reinhold Niebuhr. In the early 1930's Reinhold Niebuhr was willing to give communism a chance. He pronounced favorable words about some of the experiments that communism was trying. Yet Reinhold Niebuhr soon saw the evils that were present in communism. For more than 25 years now he has moved away from his earlier pacifist position and has been strongly opposed to all despotic forms of tyrrany wherever they have been manifest. Some people today insist that Reinhold Niebuhr must be judged by what he said in 1935.

During this period of time the Communist party didn't want the Church. The Communist Party regarded churchmen as ignoramuses and fools, the worst of the superstitious. The party recognized that on occasions the churchmen might criticize capitalism, but these churchmen were unpredictable and uncontrollable. There were two or three people in the Protestant churches who called themselves Communists, but, even so, the Communist Party didn't use them. It was afraid of them. One of these was a bishop in the Protestant Episcopal Church named Brown. He was a bishop in Arkansas. He laughed and called himself, "The Bad Bishop Brown." He was eventually dismissed from the ministry by the Protestant Episcopal Church. This was partly due to his espousal of communism, but was also due to other heretical views. No more than a half dozen churchmen openly supported the Communist Party in this period, but there were hundreds who were sympathetic to the experiment that would bring an end to some of the evils of capitalism. The capitalism that was being criticized by the Protestant churches was already in the process of tremendous change. The Protestantism of the 1930's frequently found itself fighting capitalists of the 1890's still alive in the 1930's. One prominent capitalist sold all of his business rather than sign a contract with a union. He said, "As long as I live, I will never sign a contract with the union." He disposed of his firm, went to Hollywood and became noted for giving famous parties in the movie capital. This is not the kind of reputation that most capitalists desire. The church, however, regarded this kind of man as all too typical of self-centeredness produced by capitalism.

Capitalism needs the criticism of the churches. Democracy needs the undergirding of Protestant faith. The Christian faith has been far more successful in teaching ethical ideas than it has dared to believe. The capitalism that we have today is not the same kind of capitalism that existed in the 1890's or even in the 1920's. Some of the critics of the Protestant church who belabor it and talk about the communism that is in it are unhappy because of the modifications in capitalism. They want to blame the churches for what has happened to capitalism. The churches *are* partly to blame. The churches deserve some credit for upholding social justice.

The crucial issue at the present time is that democracy, Christianity, and capitalism ought to be co-operating with each other. Each can strengthen the other as it declares the truth; the church needs criticism from democracy.

There are forces that are trying to separate us and divide us in a critical hour. When distrust and hatred are sown between the segments of our society, we are laying the groundwork for an overthrow of the

whole society, with all of the institutions. A tyrant can take over a country much more easily if he has divided the elements that constitute that country. We are in danger when fear and distrust are spread throughout our country, whatever the name in which it is done. Our greatest dangers today are not from internal subversion, although there is a danger that some people may lose faith in the values of our society.

Charles Malik, a Lebanese Christian and a national and international statesman, has written that we in the Western world, particularly in the United States, have lost faith. He says, "I am yet to hear one Western leader who, assured to his face that he is doomed and will be 'buried' can muster enough courage and conviction, if not to use the vulgar phrase 'bury' with respect to Communism itself, at least to use some such civilized expression as that the days of Communism are numbered and that Communism will one day be completely forgotten.

"When Mr. Khrushchev assures Western leaders that their children or at most their grandchildren will all be Communists, I am yet to hear one Western leader who assures Mr. Khrushchev with the same gusto that his children or at least his grandchildren will live to regret and be thoroughly ashamed of the fact that their fathers or grandfathers were ever Communists. And whereas international Communism believes and acts on the belief that the days of everything non-Communist are numbered, my deepest fear is that Western leadership believes no such thing with respect to Communism! My fear is that the softening up process has reached such an advanced state that all now believe that Communism is here to stay and that therefore the utmost they can do is to manage somehow to 'coexist' with it. The deepest crisis of the West is the crisis of faith in its own values! Whereas Communism believes that non-Communist values must be eliminated from the face of the earth, and acts on this belief, the West no longer believes that Communist values themselves are doomed to utter destruction and oblivion, and therefore no longer acts on this belief.

"I am yet to meet or know of one important Western leader who entertains a dynamic vision for the Communist realm which includes the certainty that the children of present-day Communists will have completely repudiated Communism and will have adopted the fundamental values of freedom. Let the West face up to this advanced state of decay in its own soul."

Malik's words disturb us. All too often we take the communist evaluation of how history is going. Over and over again, Marx held up the progression that after capitalism came socialism, after socialism came communism. I have yet to meet a conservative businessman who doesn't believe in Marxist progression. It is unfortunate that this is the way most view economic history. Communism makes a lot of claims that are believed before the inadequacy of its governmental theory or economic theory is noted. When Communism is tried, the errors of it are quickly seen by the economists and by the politicians. We have only to look at history and see that there have been socialist economies that have changed, not to communism, but back to capitalism. Such change defies Communist theory. Yet changes in the direction of capitalism have occurred in Australia, in New Zealand, in Britain, and to a lesser degree in Scandinavia. Why don't we make room in our theories for what is actually happening? Need we believe so completely in Marx?

During this past week I met a woman who asked me if I didn't believe in the communist timetable. I asked her which timetable she was referring to. She didn't know that there was more than one timetable. She had only heard a recent version. I called it to her attention that Marx's timetable called for Germany to become the first communist nation and Russia to be the

last. Did the communists refuse to allow Russia to become communist just because Marx's timetable said it was last in the scheme? Not at all! They took the gain that they could get and forgot about theory. Modern Communist timetables are equally flexible.

At the moments of crisis there are always those people who come forward and seek to gain their own ends at the interest of the body politic or the society. You remember Rhett Butler in *Gone With The Wind* as he said that there were two times to become wealthy. One was when an empire was being born, and the other was when an empire was dying. There are those in our society today who believe that our world, our society is dying, and they are willing to make all they can out of its death. Some of them do this by screaming and crying that the church is opposed to greater liberty and greater freedom. Yes, the church does place certain restrictions against liberty. It believes in freedom, but freedom demands discipline. The churches declare judgment on undue use of liberty. Christianity did not discover these necessary limitations. In Chapter 32 of *The Republic,* Plato asked the identity of the greatest good, the supreme good of democracy. His answer was: "Liberty. In a democratic country you will be told that liberty is its noblest possession, which makes it the only fit place for a free spirit to live . . . perhaps the insatiable desire for this good to the neglect of everything else may transform a democracy and lead to a demand for despotism." At length he described how that seeking liberty for each individual without restraints and without respect for the rights of others lays the groundwork for the despotism. "The citizens become so sensitive that they resent the slightest application of control as intolerable tyranny, and in their resolve to have no master they end by disregarding even the law, written or unwritten."

Christians must recognize their responsibilities in regard to freedom. In James H. Nichols' magnificent book *Democracy and the Churches,* the conclusion is drawn: "The problem of Puritan Protestantism as a religious tradition in the mid-twentieth century is thus closely analogous to the problem of liberal democracy in the state. Is it possible for the traditions that have exalted personal responsibility and freedom, voluntary initiative, and the method of discussion, to achieve, nevertheless, enough of self-discipline, organization, and unity to meet the problems of an increasingly bureaucratized, industrialized, militarized society? . . . As at their origin, 300 years before, the destinies of Puritan Protestantism and of liberal democracy are indissolubly joined. Holding precious the same heritage, they face the same perils, and, beneath all the perplexities, with the same faith. . . .

"Each bloc attempted to define the issues so as to carry with them the Puritan democrats. It was 'Democracy against Fascism' or it was 'Christian civilization against atheistic Communism.' It was extremely important both politically and religiously that in this tension Puritan Protestantism retained a very distinct sense of its unique tradition and refused to be hoodwinked by either of these slogans. Whatever temporary alliances might be expedient, Puritan Protestantism was responsible to God alone and could yield its conscience to no infallible interpreters—neither to a party nor to a hierarchy."

Franklin H. Littell

The Christian Encounter With Totalitarianism

During recent months the Christian churches have been celebrating the 50th anniversary of the International Missionary Conference at Edinburgh, 1910. This conference, the culmination of a series of great missionary meetings in the nineteenth century, is commonly said to mark the beginning of the modern ecumenical movement. There met at Edinburgh the heads of the great missionary societies, to discuss the major problems and possibilities of the expansion of Christianity about the world. Since then there have taken place several of the most representative Christian assemblies in the history of the faith—certainly the most representative since the ecumenical councils of the early church in the Mediterranean matrix.

One of the commission reports reads with particular pathos today, referring to certain developments on the mission field. As has often happened over the centuries, new Christians in Asia and Africa were sometimes blending Christian teaching with pagan teachings and cultural practices. Prophetic movements of doubtful orientation had sprung up in various fields and caused serious misgivings

among those who directed the missionary agencies. Looking back at the north African situation when Islam had swept away whole sections of Christendom, they wrote in judgment:

> . . . it remains tragically true that had the church of Syria been faithful to its Master the reproach of Islam had never lain upon Christendom. The thought has sombre consequences. It may be that in the Africa, the China, and the India of today new religions are maturing which in like manner will be anti-Christian, and stand in future centuries as a barrier in the way of winning the world.[1]

Looking back upon the intervening years we see that the "new religions" did in fact mature and lead or tear away great sections of Christendom into anti-Christian positions or apostasy. But they matured not on the growing edge of the expansion of the faith, not in the areas about which Edinburgh was worried: they appeared right in the heart of Christendom itself, in the great centers which for hundreds of years had proudly claimed to represent Christian culture and civilization. The sombre mystery of the 20th century, the mystery which called up the awful figure of the Anti-Christ to the mind of the martyr, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, is the fact that the most serious challenge to Christianity since the rise of Islam over a thousand years ago, and probably since the day of Pentecost, rose right in the shadow of St. Peters in Rome, flourished in the very heartland of the Reformation, and rages still in Moscow itself—the "third Rome" of Eastern Orthodoxy. Hitler, Franco, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Peron, Mussolini, Lenin, Marx, Engels, Stalin and Tito cannot be understood apart from the apocalypse of the West, apart from the sour humors of corrupted and apostate Christendom. They are the legitimate fruit of a false continuum of Christ and culture, of a prideful style of Christianity which identified unbaptized values and tribal practices with true religion and drove underground the word of prophecy and eschatology.

As strange as we have found it, however, the pattern should not have surprised us. Even in the Early Church, as that able theologian of missions, Roland Allen, has reminded us, heresy and hyphenated religion did not appear so much among the new Christians, in the newly founded "house-churches." Heresy reached its highest points in those great churches which became static and reflective, which had lost the hot passion of primary religious experience which moulds new men and new women: Jerusalem, Alexandria, Ephesus, Rome, Antioch were the centers of dangerous apostasy then, just as they were the places where men were most sure that they counted first in the eyes of the Head of the Church. Writing of the truly astonishing freedom with which the apostle organized new converts immediately into worshiping and serving churches, with their own church government and financial responsibilities, Allen concludes:

> When the Christian Church was first spreading throughout the Roman Empire she certainly maintained a standard of doctrine, and the standard was not imperilled by the spontaneous activity of a multitude of Christians who were certainly not trained theologians. These unknown missionaries taught the doctrine which they had learned, and that teaching was so far adequate that the Bishops of the Church did not hesitate to consecrate new converts as Bishops for the new Churches without giving them any long or special training in theological colleges.
>
> The great heresies in the early church arose not from the rapid expansion resulting from the work of these unknown teachers; but in those churches which were longest established, and where the Christians were not so busily engaged in converting the heathen around them.[2]

Totalitarianism, in the variant forms of Nazism and Communism, has penetrated many parts of Christendom which have not fallen victims as yet to one-party control

[1] *The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1910), p. 244.

[2] Roland Allen, *The Spontaneous Expansion of the Church* (London: World Dominion Press, 1949), 2nd edition; p. 64.

and the police state. It may be compared to cancer in the human body, in which the whole is corrupted and destroyed as "wild cells" run riot. From art and architecture to zoology (remember Lysenko and the inheritance of acquired characteristics!) the social corpus is threatened or corrupted. And in the serious study of totalitarianism, as in the study of cancer,[3] the best efforts of scientists of a multitude of disciplines are called for in analyzing the social sickness. At the level of theology, too, the study of totalitarianism affords a worthy basis of dialogue with other disciplines: it is in effect a pathological study of western Christendom. Just as the medical pathologist can assist us to a better understanding of physical health by a careful analysis of diseased bodies, so the study of Nazism and Communism in their varying manifestations can help us to an understanding of the factors which make for health in the open society.

It is a strange and marvelous riddle that, with the challenge of totalitarianism as serious as it is both to Christianity and to the open society, both church and university have been slow to deal with the challenge in depth. Nowhere in any American university is there as yet a single institute dedicated to the inter-disciplinary study of totalitarianism. No church has as yet a suitable study book for the use of children, although the Communists in East Germany have a large and beautifully illustrated study for Communist youth—refuting Christianity and presenting scientific materialism. One of the prices we pay for our neglect of the issue is that the present initiative in the matter in America largely rests, apart from the FBI and CIA, in the hands of amateurs, adventurers and demagogues—apparently in fairly equal proportion. Another price is that we have twice seen, in recent years, the rise of hysterical movements which—in the name of combating one style of totalitarianism—actually mislead many well-meaning people into approval of totalitarian tactics. The polarization of society between red totalitarianism and reactionary totalitarianism was the strategy, on the part of some people deliberate, which destroyed the Weimar Republic, the Spanish Republic, the post-war republics in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and by which some newspaper columnists and other native American totalitarians are presently trying to undermine our confidence in the Constitution, the Supreme Court, the President, and the future of the republic generally.

The analogy to cancer is useful. Another, which is also suggestive, and leads us into a discussion of the nature of the sickness, is aphasia. Aphasia is a condition, due either to a mechanical defect or psychological impediment, in which the victim cannot communicate with facility. Students of the art of communication have recently turned to study of aphasia in order to better understand the way in which persons and groups communicate or discuss with each other. The analogy of aphasia to totalitarianism is particularly useful because it is here above all that we find the irreconcilable conflict between the open society and totalitarianism. The genius of the open society is full, free and informed discussion; the characteristic of totalitarian societies is the deliberate suppression of independent centers of discussion, program and initiative. The style of totalitarianism is above all *Gleichschaltung*—the determined jumbling and suppression of all sub-political centers of activity.

The policy of homogenization, or *Gleichschaltung*, in which all phases of life are related to the state bureaucracy as spokes to the hub of a wheel, is to destroy communication. Discussion within free societies is destroyed, both by infiltration—which

[3]See a brilliant article on "Cancer Research: Integrator of the Sciences," by Paul H. Zahl in XVII *The American Scholar* (1948) 2:171-78.

ends confidence between persons—and by appointing party *apparatchiks* who use the direct line of command from headquarters. The groups become centers for receiving and executing orders sent down the line rather than discussion centers for "talking up" voluntary discipline and action. (Edward Hunter's *Brainwashing in Red China*, 1951, shows the abuse of cell groups in this way, a phenomenon which was familiar to the Nazi Party and which is evidently also the style of operation of the John Birch Societies). Discussion within social groupings is shortcircuited: professional associations (doctors, lawyers, school teachers, civil servants, etc.), trade unions, churches, farm organizations, professors' groups, youth organizations, women's organizations, and so on, are only allowed to function under appointed leadership accountable to the party which runs the state. In the Third Reich even the reactionary military officers clubs and the student fraternities, which were actually fervently loyal to Hitler, were liquidated: even such groups could not be trusted not to get some ideas which might be original and therefore dangerous to the central bureaucracy.

In contrast, in the open society, full, free and informed discussion is the essential matter. Democracy does not rest on parliamentary tactics, as has sometimes been maintained. This is the French misunderstanding, which has had dire consequences in the Third and Fourth Republics. Neither does it rest on majority rule, with the rights of minorities protected: these are simple constitutional procedures undertaken in order to secure that which is truly fundamental, namely that public decision shall be based on the open and frank debate which precedes the definition of public policy law. The Anglo-Saxon tradition of due process is founded above all in open discussion, in relations between citizens ennobled by the "open face of truth." Whereas totalitarian parties always have, before they gain power and destroy the nonconformists and dissenters, the style and atmosphere and conspiracies and cabals, democratic parties are committed first and foremost to honest and informed public discussion.

As great a champion of the rights of the people and stalwart enemy of despotism as William Godwin was resolutely opposed even to the extension of the suffrage, while he called the ballot "the fruitful parent of ambiguities, equivocations and lies without number." He went on to say:

> The free man communicates with his neighbor, not in corners and concealed places, but in market-places and scenes of public resort; and it is thus that the sacred spark is caught from man to man, till all are inspired with a common flame. Communication and publicity are of the essence of liberty; it is the air they breathe; and without it they die.
>
> . . . the principles of the institute of ballot is to teach men to perform their best actions under the cloak of concealment. We are to begin, it seems, with concealing from our landlord, or our opulent neighbor, our political determinations; and so his corrupt influences will be broken, and the humblest individual will be safe in doing that which his honest and unbiased feelings may prompt him to do.
>
> No: This is not the way in which the enemy of the souls of men is to be defeated. We must begin not with the confession of our faintheartedness and our cowardice. A quiet, sober, unaltered frame of judgment, that insults no one, that has in it nothing violent, brutal and defying, is the frame that becomes us. If I would teach another man, my superior in rank, how he ought to construe and decide upon the conduct I hold, I must begin by making that conduct explicit.[4]

Democracy is not based on "Consent," for frightened men may be learnt to consent. Neither is it based on majority rule, for then Stalin and Hitler and Nasser would be great democrats. And, as John C. Calhoun pointed out in his classic *A Disquisition on Government* (1855),[5] one of the

[4]William Godwin, *Thoughts on Man* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1831), pp. 319, 321, 324-25, in Essay XVII: "Of Ballot."

[5]John C. Calhoun, *A Disquisition on Government . . .* 1854 (New York: Political Science Classics, 1947), p. 35.

primary functions of a good constitution is precisely the negative function of preventing the will of a statistical majority from having sway at a given moment—that the final resolution may reflect the measured wisdom of those concerned and not the hasty arbitrament of a rude majority. But that a decision may be both measured and wise, open discussion and careful reasoning is of the essence. As Everett Dean Martin put it:

> With freedom of speech allowed, the second-rate man has his say along with the rest; without, he alone may speak.[6]

The Civil War, that most tragic and traumatic of all events in American history, was not rendered inevitable by slavery or by the union of the Free Soil Party and the Whigs or by the election of Abraham Lincoln: it became inevitable when the House of Representatives passed the infamous Gag Law of 1832, which tabled without discussion all further measures or petitions dealing with the issue. When discussion ends, nothing is left but open and violent conflict. But for that recourse to arms, rendered inevitable by persons afraid of discussion, we might still have a federal system of government in these states—instead of excessive centralization in economic and military matters and a feeble and falsely oriented "states' rights" in handling education and the rights of American citizens.

It is the essential style of totalitarian minds, conspiracies and dictatorships, to suppress honest discussion. In the week after some SMU students demonstrated in favor of non-discriminatory service to all members of the university community, regardless of race, the student YMCA staged a debate with speeches and rebuttal by two students for and two students against the action. In the period of open discussion which followed, an hysterical little woman —threatening a newspaper campaign against the "Y" and SMU—abused the student leader and the university for allowing the discussion (pro and con!) to take place! There is a good deal to be said for and against the "sit ins" and "the student movement"; but among reasonable people there can hardly be doubt that open discussion—of all our problems and all our concerns—is far better than anxiety and suppression. Unfortunately this is not the only indication in recent months that native totalitarians, organized and active along lines made familiar by the Nazis and Communists, are prepared to assault and slander both Christian churches and universities, and their most distinguished leaders, who are loyal to our democratic traditions of due process, reasonable discussion and consensus. The mentality which would polarize society, which is determined that all honest conservatives are "black fascists" and "tools of Wall Street" or that all honest liberals are "fellow-travellers" or "secret Communists," is a totalitarian mentality. Liberals and conservatives who believe in making public policy through calm and enlightened discussion have far more in common with each other than either has with the lunatic fringe of left or right!

I have spoken in some detail of the essential conflict between the open society and totalitarianism, although the basic issue in this paper is the encounter of Christianity and totalitarianism. The reason is that it is here the basic commitments of the church and the university coincide with and support, the style of life in the open society. It can, in fact, be demonstrated historically as well as logically that the town meetings begin with the church meetings, the public forum with the classical university disputation, and the public life of reason with the dialogue in the classical academy.

It is a particular function of the church and the university to cultivate the dialogue with the past, as well as full, free, and informed discussion among those present. In

[6]Everett Dean Martin, *Liberty* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1930), p. 200.

the creed of the church we confess our belief in the "communion of saints," and in this fellowship we must never forget that the majority are those who have died in the faith. Nothing is more disgraceful in a church than a shallow contemporaneity. We receive from our fathers their testimony in the form of creeds, confessions of faith, sermons, hymns, and the like, and through these channels they participate in our discussion as to how Christians should think and act about the problems of life. The oldest charter of the modern university (Paris, founded in 1215), refers to the university as *universitas magistrorum ac scolarum*—a "fellowship of teachers and students"; nothing is said here of a football team, fraternities and sororities, or even "great books." Culture is accredited and transmitted and renewed by the encounter between cultured men and apprentices. The "covenant of fathers and sons," the transgenerational dimension, is central to both church and university.

Here again the conflict with totalitarianism is evident and pronounced. For both Nazism and Communism specialize in the tactic of splitting the generations, turning the youth against their elders and all they stand for. Just as the totalitarians try to cut off communication among those present, by cultivating the polarization of society in politics and the homogenization of voluntary associations whenever they exist, so they drive a wedge between the youth and their elders. At the Denver meeting of the National Council of Churches (1952), the heroic Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, D. Otto Dibelius, brought this out very forcefully:

> The Communists do not differ one bit from their predecessors, the National Socialists. The youth is the target group for their propaganda. Young people are put in responsible positions. It is not extraordinary that a 22-year-old becomes mayor of a town of 100,000 people. There are railway stations designated as railway stations of Free German Youth. There the station-master may be 18 years of age, and all who work with him are younger. Such things impress youth. Therefore, the whole ire of the Communists is poured on the youth work of the church.[7]

Just how successful the Communists may be in this appeal is open to doubt, since the Hungarian freedom fighters of October, 1956, were mostly 14, 15, and 16-year-olds. But, nevertheless, the intention of the totalitarians is plain, and it runs contrary to the commitment of the church and the university. For a decade now the youth of the church have borne the brunt of the battle in Communist East Germany. Think with me a bit about that struggle and its implications. In the spring of 1951 the Communist government in Ponkow loosed an all-out offensive to compel all youth, on reaching the age of Christian confirmation, to take part instead in the Communist Youth Dedication Service. (Incidentally, both Nazis and Communists have developed—in line with their pseudo-religious and anti-Christian creeds—liturgies for party baptism, party confirmation, party marriage, and party burial.) Unless they took the party oath in the *Judendweithe* the young people were not allowed to go on to high school and college. Imagine the agony of Christian parents who had to decide whether their children should cross their fingers and dissimulate or refuse the party oath, leave school, and spend the rest of their lives as hewers of wood and drawers of water! Many have resolved the conflict by sending their children to friends or relatives in the German Federal Republic. But then they part from their children for life, for the Communists will not let them come back into the zone. This is what the encounter with totalitarianism means when it is brought down out of the air of demagogic utterance, when it is a desparate matter of daily decision and a very human thing. Brethren, we should pray daily for those whom we boldly claim as flesh of our flesh

[7]Reported in *Religious News Service: Domestic* (12/12/52).

and blood of our blood, who suffer today in so many parts of the earth. Listen to the report of one of the East Zone bishops and ask if we, in our arm-chair quarterbacking, are worthy of their sacrifice:

> It is becoming continually more evident that education in the school has a wholly secular trend, which stands in open contradiction to the church's freedom to propagate the gospel, guaranteed under the Constitution. In several cases of conspicuous non-observance of this right, the Ministry of Education accepted the Church's protest. In most cases, however, protests cannot be made, because in the event of a dispute arising one would have to depend heavily on the testimony of school children. It is rather a matter of an alien spirit, which the children sense, without being able to do much about it. Baptized children are growing up in a world in which, despite the efforts of catechists and preachers, they are inwardly ground to pieces.[8]

At the great rally of the church, the Berlin *Kirchentag*, 1951, when a third of a million Christians gathered to demonstrate their faith in the beleaguered city, the discussion "To Whom Do the Children Belong?" was opened by Hans Lokies, head of the Gossner Mission. "Father" Lokies, as he is known to the students in his school where he trains deaconesses and catechetical instructors, is an alumnus of four and a half years in one of Hitler's concentration camps. And there he stood, grey haired and with lined face—with, as it were, the marks of our Lord Jesus Christ on his body—and cried out:

> They don't belong to the state.
> They don't belong to the party.
> They belong to God, and under God to the family!

"Father" Lokies, and the men like him who have led the witnessing church through twelve years of resistance to Nazism and now sixteen years of resistance to Communism, are what I like to call "tough Christians." The church very much needs more such people. It is one thing to sit at ease in Zion, making the shekel large and the measure small and circulating the slanderous and semi-totalitarian literature of the Circuit Riders, the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, the Church Service League, the John Birch Society, and others of that like, and another thing to support loyally the leadership of the church, the university, and the American government—especially the FBI, CIA, and the technical assistance programs in yet undecided areas of the world.

Do you know, for instance, that the Gaither Report—which has never been released publicly—established that through a crash program the USSR is turning out more engineers (industrial, chemical and civil) than the USA, France, Great Britain and West Germany combined? It is a strange thing indeed that some of those most vocally "anti-Communist" should also be most vocal against paying their taxes, against expanding our own education of engineers, against helping our allies through military and economic assistance, against helping new countries of Africa and Asia to procure their needed capital and technical assistance from the West rather than from China or Russia! Do you know that two out of three elementary schools in this country have no library? Do you know that $15.00 a month is the support raised through the World Council of Churches and Lutheran World Service to sustain one catechetical instructor and his family in East Germany? I understand the dues of the John Birch Society to be $24.00. How much better that money could be used if the intention were really to strengthen the forces standing across the path of imperialistic Communism! How much better that money could be spent! How much SMU and our other universities in their engineering schools need dedicated, unselfish support! How will we win this fight unless we turn away

[8]Quoted in "The Protestant Church in Germany Today," VII *The World Today* (1951) 10:439-49, 445, by "C. C. W."

from the shameful business, but the easy one, of fighting each other, and bend our energies to the real challenge?

Reinold von Thadden, who is the head of the great rally of the church, the *Kirchentag* that turned out at one time 650,000 people in Leipzig, rallying to the cross right in the heart of the Communist territory, spoke to a group of us at the U. S. Embassy in Bonn three years ago. He concluded his remarks with the warning: "Friends, in an encounter between a soft materialism and a hard materialism, the hard materialism will win every time!" The answer, and the only answer to the communist ideology and system is a faith which inspires and calls out sacrifice, dedication, and singleness of purpose.

I would like to emphasize one aspect of this encounter particularly. I have been pointing toward it in speaking of the need for the universities and the churches to develop the literature and develop the research programs which give us, if not an institute, then something pretty near it, on the encounter with totalitarianism. The 20th century is the great age of persecution for the Christians. More people have died for their faith in this century than ever before in two thousand years. In the 20th century more sections of the faith have come under the sign of the fish, the old secret sign with which the Christians identified themselves during persecution, than in any other century. But think back with me for a moment to those Christians who outsuffered and outlasted the early persecutions. We think of them facing the lions, breaking the neck of the bull, showing raw courage in the face of physical persecution and suffering. And we should. But one other thing that was accomplished by the Christians in that period is significant too: the Christians took on every ideology and philosophy and religion and system of thought, and by the time they emerged from the early period they had also out-thought all of the alternatives. They had a whole library of books answering Zoroastrianism, the mystery religions, Stoicism, Epicureanism, and the rest. Every single philosophy or ideology which was put as an alternative to the faith had been outpointed—taken on and outpointed.

I think this level of the encounter is something to which we have got to give more attention. How many of us here can really outpoint and outthink scientific materialism? What would we do if ten of us were put in a room with ten active Communists from some part of the world? Of course they know their own doctrines. But more: I can guarantee something to you, because I have experienced it personally—in the foreign field, as well as at home: they will know more Church History, they will know more Theology, they will know more about the Church around the world than most of us! It seems to me perfectly clear that the answer which we must give to this confrontation, to this threat, is an answer which calls for a far more strenuous training in the teaching and in the style and in the life which is in Christ Jesus than any of us has given much thought to in recent time. We've got to outthink the opposition! We have a Youth Fellowship here in one of the churches in Dallas that a week or two ago wanted to study Communism and see how Communism and Christianity are meeting headon. One of our Perkins men is advisor to the group. And two of the parents said, "We can't talk about that—that's controversial." How are we ever going to outthink the opposition unless we give steady and determined attention to the problem? We need an Institute, we need the literature, we need discipline. One of our chief problems is lack of discipline among the Methodist people.

There is really only one answer to dialectical materialism, and that is, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth." Now every one of us ought to be able to explain why materialism and Christianity conflict here. Otherwise we fail

in our obligation as Christians and as citizens. I feel certain, nevertheless, that just as there was a Christian church long before Nazism and Communism were ever heard of, there will be a glorious church long after they have been buried in the dust. I believe in the Methodist Church. I believe in the U. S. A. and in her institutions. We have, however, to devote a studied energy to this encounter which to date we have not shown. I feel frankly that the church has not been careful enough about her discipline as to membership, and that refers to some who have been fellow travelers of the Communists, and it also refers to some who have been fellow travelers of another kind of totalitarianism. The loyalties of the Christian people must first and foremost be committed to the Lord of the Church.

When Adoniram Judson went out over a hundred years ago as a missionary to Burma, they picked him up after a few weeks and threw him in a dirty jail. With thirty-two pounds of chains and metal balls on his legs, they bound him to a bamboo pole there in the jail. And then one of the local Burmese came to him to laugh at him and mock him and say, "What do you think the chances of Christianizing Burma are now?" And Judson said, "The prospects are just as bright as the promises of God." I believe that the Christian faith, if the people are not apostate, will triumph most certainly over the pseudo-religions of the 20th century. I believe that, as was said by one of our greatest presidents, in this encounter too, "We have nothing to fear but fear itself."

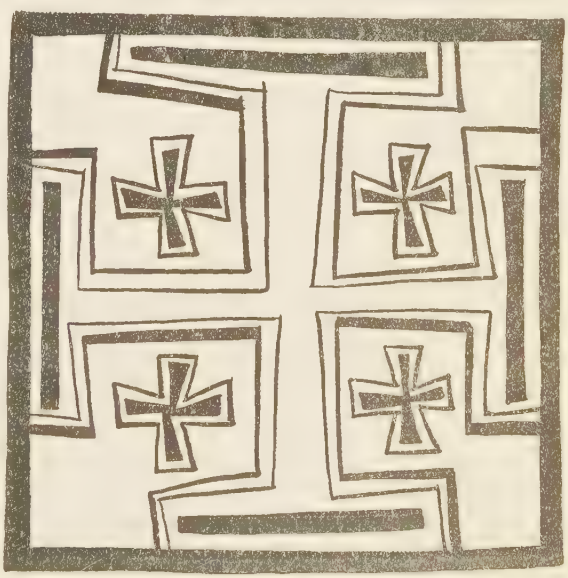
Albert C. Outler

Protestant Churches Meeting the Communist Challenge

It is both an honor and a pleasure to be in such a meeting as this and to see as much interest as this displayed in what is clearly one of the massive and urgent issues in the churches of our time. I hope that my comments may be of some help to you in your consideration of the issue and of your role and responsibility in the present situation. I take it for granted that I am expected to speak my mind as plainly and as clearly and peaceably as I can. We are in an area and a period of controversy, and my concern is to be constructive—but not timid and not apologetic.

These are difficult and dangerous days, and there is more than a touch of madness in them. Only the oldest amongst us can remember when there wasn't a fearful crisis of one sort or another in the protracted struggle which has gripped the world between communism and the West since 1917. Today the crisis in Southeast Asia centers in Laos, but it was at Dienbienphu yesterday; it will be in South Vietnam tomorrow, and Thailand after that. The Congo today, but South Africa yesterday, Angola tomorrow, and Ghana and Guinea after that. Algiers today, but Tunis yesterday, Morocco tomorrow and the Sahara after that. Cuba today, but Guatemala yesterday, and—well, take your pick of a half-dozen places for eruptions tomorrow and thereafter. How long, oh Lord, how long?

A sober and realistic addition of the global or interplanetary balance sheet is not as one-sided as the headlines often suggest. The Russians have given a man one whirl around the earth and they are alarmingly ahead of us in heavy rocketry. We have surpassed them in basic astrophysics, if this is any comfort, and in mapping the sublunary sphere. The spread of communism in forty years has been horrifying, but they have yet to win and hold a new country by free elections—not even in Kerala. Everywhere the gains of communism have had a hollow ring and, if they cannot continue their advances, they will be in very serious trouble managing what they have over-run. The cold war has by no means been lost, but—and this is our problem—it hasn't been won, either. What is more, and worse, the prospects for *immediate* victory are rather dim. If, therefore, one may condense a complex analysis, we could put it somewhat



like this: we are on the defensive and it is unthinkable that we should move to the offensive by reversing our position with a first strike nuclear attack. We are in the right, but we cannot make that right prevail at the present moment by the means and measures at our immediate disposal. Moreover, this sort of thing has been going on now for years—43 years, to be exact—years of frustrating, unsteadying, nerve-fraying living on the razor's edge of danger. This strain is quite enough to account for the hysteria and terrorism which has been proliferated in recent months on both extremes of our body un-politic—the far left and the far right.

You can, you know, produce a full blown neurosis in an animal if you alternately prod it and frustrate it, bait it and rebuff it. Something like this has been happening to us humans in the West. We have come to the stage of stress where many feel that they cannot stand the strain and remain rational. They are now finding relief in various forms of terroristic violence, preferring to scapegoat at home than to risk their lives and fortunes in fighting communism abroad. We see in our own midst people who get an obvious feeling of selfrighteous justification in blaming all our misfortunes on traitors and dupes within the citadel of freedom. And because all of us are under dreadful pressures, even the normal and healthy tensions between honest conservatives and honest liberals have come to be tainted with unreason and bad faith. The conservative is justifiably alarmed over the threats of big government. The liberal is justifiably alarmed at the conservative's reliance upon the allegedly "natural" economic and political processes. Increasingly of late, the conservatives have been sliding off to the right of their historic tradition and joining the right wing terrorists in the false logic that brands all liberals as left-wing and therefore pro-communist or even communist—since everybody left of "center" is in the same camp. This prompts the thin-skinned liberal to the same error of bracketing the conservatives with the terrorists. This is bad logic and bad politics, for it pulverizes the center and polarizes everyone around one extreme or the other. If this be not madness, then we might as well burn all the books on normal psychology that have been written in the last fifty years.

Since the days of Matthews and McCarthy we have been told that there are 7,000 pro-Communists, communists, "comsymps" in the Protestant clergy. That this is arrant, wicked nonsense does not deter the terrorist. He has identified these by their having been associated one time or another, one way or another, with *some* sort of a communist or a pro-communist organization sometime in the past thirty years—or of being associated with those who were. But, if we are to play the game, why stop with 7,000? Maybe there are 7,000 more communists who haven't been exposed—or even more? Unless a minister is an outspoken conservative, he may very well be suspected of being a comsymp playing possum or termite. For that matter, why should we trust the self-confessed conservative? Since one of the aims of the communists is to foment strife and terror in democratic or republican countries, and since conservatives have made common cause with the terrorists, then it follows that the terrorists are serving the communist cause by their wholesale accusations of treason. Therefore why not suspect that even the conservatives and the terrorists are pro-communists? If this *sounds crazy,* it *is!* What other rational judgment can be passed on a situation which allows the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, 7,000 Protestant ministers, Bishop W. C. Martin, Willis Tate, Merrimon Cuninggim, SMU, Perkins School of Theology, et al., to be accused of being communists or comsymps? Similarly, the in-

sinuation that Presidents Eisenhower, Truman and Roosevelt were pro-communist—or Hoover, Coolidge, Harding and Wilson, since they did not cope with communism successfully, either—comes from the schizophrenic-ward atmosphere that has come upon us. How do you stand, sir? Well, to tell you the truth, I stand dizzy and dismayed. But I also stand undaunted and unafraid—as a Christian, as an American, as an ordained Methodist minister and as a member of the faculty of Southern Methodist University—and *proud of every one of these connections!* And I cry equal shame upon the Daily Worker and the Park Cities News.

It is important to be clear on this point because we cannot rightly relate the Protestant Churches to our urgent struggle against communism until we come at least partially to understand the serious dangers in this atmosphere of mutual mistrust.

Next October will be the forty-forth anniversary of modern, radical, international communism. The conflict between communism and Christianity has been going on ever since, intermittently and confusedly. We have spoken of the "cold war" since '47. There has been a state of neither war nor peace between international communism and the West for forty-four years. I, myself, discovered Marx and Lenin in college, when its study was regarded as necessary for an educated citizen and I was revolted by their blatant materialism and their ruthless amorality. I have been an anti-communist ever since, even in the dark days of the Depression and through the lurching lines of alliance from '39 to '45. I have not been a very prominent anti-communist—but for that matter, as a minister and scholar, I have not been a political activist in general. Left to myself, my basic concern is the life of learning and worship. But I have not been left to myself, and I must say that, in getting around the country and the world in the last thirty-five years, I do not recall seeing some of our most prominent super anti-communists of today around in those early days. In my view, a contemporary anti-communist who does not have a clear and consistent record of anti-communism from 1925 to 1945 is a Johnny-come lately who would abandon the present anti-communist bandwagon as readily as he got on it.

In these thirty-five years I've seen this struggle sway back and forth—and through it all my chief alarm has been over the profound spiritual torpor of the free world: our cult of comfort, our creed of the status quo, our own insensitivity to the winds of change, our resentment of criticism, our soft materialism. From the October revolution of 1917 to the appalling miscarriage of the Cuban invasion, every communist victory or advance that I know of, with two exceptions, was mainly a matter of resolute and ruthless men occupying vacuums—vacuums created by the failure in the West to make our way of life actually mean what it says. The exceptions were the abortive German workers' revolt in East Berlin in 1953, and the tragic Hungarian revolt in '56.

We Americans have simply not got used to the staggering weight of world leadership. Most of all we aren't used to wars that drag on and on and cannot be brought to some final showdown. We can gird ourselves for any emergency, and we can hold ourselves at full strength for four or five years. But forty years is too much—the last fifteen of them especially, and the last five or six *most especially*. For all that we have done, it hasn't been enough. Now the tide is running against us and the alternatives for the future boil down to protracted struggle and/or massive retaliation to a disaster beyond belief. The lead time for our missile detection system now varies from eighteen to fourteen minutes, which means that we shall live the rest of our lives with no more margin of real security than that, which

makes eschatology a little more real and vital notion than we have traditionally understood it to be in our misreading of the New Testament. If a nuclear holocaust *is* avoided, then the struggle stretches out for months and years and generations—unless somewhere along the line, as our enemies hope, our nerves crack, our faith fails and our zeal for our Judeo-Christian tradition becomes corrupted.

Whether or not *this* happens depends upon three things above all: first, a coalition of honest conservatives and honest liberals against the ruthless extremists who are trying to polarize us around the extremes. Second, a renewal of unity and mutual trust and confidence in the churches between clergy and laity. Third, and above all else, a revival of earnest, vital, phophetic Christianity in dead earnest; Christianity that calls for and gets rigorous discipleship, real stewardship of life, time and devotion; Christianity that demands of us our best and helps create the best in us and in our society; Christianity in John Wesley's words as: "the faith that works through love—love to God and love to man."

There is just now a fine flap abroad about the John Birch Society and Mr. Welch's bizarre activities. Many of my friends are moved to deplore this fresh outburst of hysteria. For myself, however, I rather welcome it—because for the first time since McCarthy's last lynching-bee, there is now a clear line that can be drawn between conservatives and the terrorists. Mr. Welch is a bigot, as Mr. Birch was before him. It just so happens that I knew John Birch very slightly and knew a good deal more about his terrorist activities at Mercer University. He took out after certain members of the theological faculty there with astonishing recklessness. As a result, the conservatives had to choose between bigotry and brotherhood in the Baptist fellowship. Some went one way and some another. *But they had to choose.* Now in death John Birch is still a stone of stumbling, and again the issue is between bigotry and brotherhood. Brotherhood can embrace wide differences and still unite us against a common enemy. But bigotry despises true brotherliness; it would rather extirpate the "heretic" and "traitor within the walls" than to defend the walls against outside attack.

The political health and security of our nation and of freedom's cause in the world depends on whether or not we repudiate the terrorists of either sort, right or left, and strike for a genuine coalition of the broad middle of responsible citizens (tense and irritating as coalitions always are) in order to put our best efforts into the struggle against international communism. If the "commies" take the rest of the world by slow attrition, our own position will then be hopeless, even if we have garrotted the last comsymp with a noose made from twisted papers of NCC & WCC reports. If the "commies" are thwarted in their confident expectation that their victory is inevitable, then the internal threat of communism will wither—as it did after the Ribbentrop Pact in 1938 and after Hungary. The strength of communism in this country varies with two factors and has for forty years: communist successes or failures abroad, and our unity or demoralization here at home.

Now the second thing that must be done to meet the communist menace is for us who call and profess ourselves Christian to close ranks with our leaders and to renew our mutual pledges of trust and interdependence. This is, as I would hope some of you realize, no plea for submissiveness or uncritical acquiescence in ecclesiasticism or clerical tyranny. "The Christian man," said Luther, "is freest of all and subject to no one,"—and Wesley said the same and did the same. But what has happened in the last few years amounts to an outright revolt by dissident laymen against their church leaders, outside of all due process—as pro-

vided in the Discipline and the constitutional procedures of the Methodist Church and similar arrangements in other churches *—with an aim to maim rather than to amend the church.* God be praised for all laymen who know that they are priests amongst the people of God, who assume their responsibility for the Church's witness and mission in the world. But whoever asserts that these reckless attacks of the past few years against church leaders, theological scholars, and the ecumenical movement are simply sincere, positive contributions to the amendment of an imperfect church, is either naive or wicked. The number of naive ones I have known in this category must be very small.

Nothing could be more helpful at the present time than for laymen and clergy, whose nerves are tortured like everybody else's, to shake off this nightmare—for it *is* a nightmare when Bishop Martin, SMU, and Willis Tate (not to speak of the rest of us) are smeared and battered time and time again, with malice aforethought. It would help if we would wake up and ask once again, "What was it I said when I first joined the Methodist Church?", or "What was it I said when I was admitted into full connection in the annual conference?" The answers to these questions are in our *Book of Discipline* and it would be an interesting indoor sport to see who amongst you could find them first. Let us be very clear: loyalty to the church does *not* suppress criticism, does *not* cancel negotiations between differing views, does *not* ask people please to lay off the business of amending the program and patterns of the church. The Methodist system was designed for constant criticism. This is why our book of canon law is called *The Discipline.* Look at it some time. It has a carefully developed and tested procedure for parliamentary change. As you ought to know, it does get changed every four years, and in between there are discussions and debates which influence further changes. If the Methodist Church were a monolithic bloc, with a lot of peons and peasants sitting around and saying "Yes, father," I would understand a revolt against clerical authority; but the last instance of submission toward the clergy from any layman in the Methodist Church must surely have been before my father was ordained, for I don't recall his having ever reported one. On the other hand, though, the Methodist Church, adapted as it is to parliamentary change, will not yield to terrorists, and is more likely to survive this present rebellion than the rebels. "The church, Sire," said a Huguenot to Henry IV, "is an anvil on which many hammers have been worn out."

But by far the most important issue in the Protestant Church's resistance to communism is *the life of the church itself*—as this life is expressed in the Bible, in our creeds, in the gospel of reconciliation, in personal and social life, in our message of the kingdom of God and His righteousness. Communism is not simply godless. It is militant *idolatry;* an idolatry of the Communist Party, an idolatry of the class struggle, an idolatry of dialectical materialism. Moreover, it is a *passionate* idolatry, deeply and sincerely believed in by the communists. They really believe that the communist ideology is true, that all the positive forces of history and nature are working for them and with them. Here is where their dreadful strength arises. It means that we are up against a fanatical, ruthless, bloodthirsty foe such as Christianity has not faced since the high tide of Mohammedanism in the Middle Ages. They will work and suffer for their faith; they will fight and sacrifice both themselves and others; they die confident that future victory is assured. Against this kind of militant and dedicated idolatry, *lukewarm, normal culture-Christianity is simply not enough.* We have seen the sad proof of this in every encounter Christianity has had with totalitarianism in

the modern world. In the face of resolute idolatry, irresolute Christianity has buckled. But resolute, informed, biblically-oriented, evangelical Christianity has done remarkably well. It may be hard for us to realize it but it is nonetheless true that the past half-century has been an age of Christian martyrdom not matched since the early centuries of the church. When a company of faithful men and women really worship the one true and living God of the Bible, confess Jesus Christ as their only Lord and Savior, confirm their loves to his gracious purposes and loving example and rest their hopes for life, death and destiny in God's providence and power—and when they express this faith not only with their lips but in their lives by giving up themselves to His service—then and there the idolatry of communism meets its match and conqueror.

Now why don't the churches issue more anti-communist statements? I have been asked this question many a time and oft. But the plain answer is that *they do just that, every Sunday.* Every Sunday that the Bible is opened to where it says "Thou shall have no other gods before me," you have the first flat prohibition of idolatry—communist idolatry and any other kind of idolatry, for that matter. When a congregation stands up and says with real belief and meaning, "I believe in one God, the Almighty Father, Creator of heaven and earth and of all things visible and invisible," there never was and never can be a more radical repudiation of dialectical materialism.

Let me quote some words that every well-trained Methodist should know by heart:

> It is expected of all who continue in (these Methodist societies) that they should continue to give evidence of their desire for salvation: first, by doing no harm; second, by doing good, by being ever kind and merciful after their power, as they have opportunity, doing good of every possible sort and as far as possible to all men; third, by attending upon all the ordinances of God.

Here is the platform of an excellent anti-communist program. And if you don't recognize the text I was quoting from, you are helping me make part of my point. For those are the prefaces to the General Rules which are by law expected to be read and explained in every Methodist congregation at least once a year.

There are some other things in our Discipline that are worth reading and re-reading in this connection. Take, for example, the Articles of Religion. They are printed in the first main section, so that you could easily find and ponder them. Have a look at Article 23:

> The president, the congress, the general assemblies, the governors, and the councils of state, as the delegates of the people, are *the rulers of the United States of America* according to the division of power made to them by the Constitution of the United States and by the Constitutions of their respective states. And said states are sovereign and independent nations and ought not to be subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

Or, again, Article 24:

> The riches and goods of Christians are not common as touching the right, title and possession of the same, as some do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesses, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

These are parts of Methodism's Constitution, the basic law of the church, the basic law for every one of its members, and every major Protestant Church in America has something equivalent to these things in the Bible, in their creeds of confession, in their literature, and in church law.

Here, though, is where we come to the tragic discrepancy between our official doctrine and our actual practice. The communists are committed to a false and immoral ideology, but they believe it and they are willing to suffer for it. We Christians have God's revelation of truth and life in Jesus Christ. But do we *really believe it?* Have we obeyed its imperatives in our lives? If so, wherefore then our idolatry, our materialism, our disordered lives and society? Do we really believe in civil justice, in freedom of speech, assembly and worship, in the

presumed innocence of a man until proven otherwise, in the subordination of selfish and group interests to the public good? Wherefore, then, the terrorists and the paranoid shouts of treason at men who at their worst are no more than dissenters and critics of the *status quo*? Do we really believe in the sacred worth of the individual as a child of God and, therefore, endowed by his creator with certain inalienable rights? Wherefore, then, the dreadful struggle for all American citizens to have equal opportunity before the law and in the schools? Communism does not easily overrun positions of real strength—economic strength, military strength, ideological strength. But it creeps or rushes into vacuums, into ruins, into the hearts of men who are desperately greedy or despairingly disenchanted. Communism can simply overrun men and groups whose Christian faith is feeble, whose social conscience is callous, whose engrossment in material comfort, wealth and power is greater than their Christian zeal and discipline.

If we are to win in this titanic struggle for men's minds and hearts—or even if we are to survive—the churches must themselves undergo a renewal of our social and prophetic righteousness, a renewal of our sense of priesthood and stewardship. We must have whole men in a whole community giving a total witness to the whole gospel. Give us churches and churchmen like that and communism will be stopped in its tracks, for then the uncommitted peoples of the world would have a real alternative vision to truly dedicated living and a truly open future.

There has been, as we all know, a great palaver about the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches. This palaver began in ignorance and misunderstanding, for which the leadership of the churches is partially responsible. But it continues now in real malice and folly, for which we are not quite responsible. If it were true, or ever had been true, that the National Council and the World Council were monarchical parliaments whose acts committed or governed the members of the constituent churches, one could at least understand the talk about nullification and secession. But this is simply not the case; it never has been; it is altogether unlikely in any conceivable future. The ecumenical affairs of the Methodist Church are, by law, in the hands of the Council of Bishops. Again by law, all legislation is vested in the annual and the general conferences. Everything else—from resolutions, to conferences, to church school literature, to world conferences, to study conference pamphlets (the vast flood of cellulose with which we seek to save the world)—everything else constitutes so many different forms of *addresses to the churches*. They do not speak *for* the churches; they speak *to* the churches. They also speak *of* the churches *to* the world. The charge that the National Council and the World Council are pro-communist is again arrant nonsense. But it is of a piece with the nonsense that asserts that anyone left of Senator Goldwater is already on the slide to the Kremlin. The National Council and the World Council are very far from faultless. But their virtues need to be recognized as well as their faults criticized. The National Council has produced by far the most significant research in the sociology of religion in America than any other agency or all the agencies I know of combined. And the World Council refugee program, by itself, dwarfs every humanitarian effort by any government, communist or free, and every humanitarian proposal I have heard from the conservative side since 1936.

I began by saying that we are in a dangerous and difficult situation which is not going to ease up very soon. Only those with stout nerves, steady faith, and quiet confidence in God are likely to stand the pounding of continuing bad news without flinch-

ing or cracking up. The crackup is proceeding and the terrorists are abroad. Any man knows that the cry of treason is the most disruptive of all accusations in any social group. It is like bellowing "fire" in a crowded theater. If there is a fire, this is no way to save the people; if there is no fire, it is a criminal act. You can call me stupid, and many have. You can call me mistaken, and many have, and some have been right. You can call me incompetent, or a blackguard, and I'll only ask you for your evidence. But impugn my loyalty, and you and I are through; for, humanly speaking, this is an offense that is unforgivable.

We must, therefore, identify our enemies and we must close ranks. There are international communists abroad and they need to be resisted where they are in process of disintegrating the defenses of the free world. There are also terrorists at home—communists to the far left, and reactionaries to the far right—and they need to be resisted by a coalition of conservatives and liberals. We need unity and mutual confidence and trust. We need honest belief that our cause is coupled with the determination that where it fails of justice, we will set it right. But above all, we need to become Christians in dead earnest, with all that this implies—seeking first the kingdom of God and His righteousness; resting all our hopes on God's dynamic grace; speaking and doing the truth in love; growing up in every way into Him who is our head, even Jesus Christ.

> My dear friends, (says First Peter, in the New English Bible), do not be bewildered by the firey ordeal that is coming upon you as though it were something extraordinary. It gives you a share in Christ's suffering, and that is a cause for joy. And when His glory is revealed, your joy will be triumphant. If Christ's name is flung in your teeth as an insult, count yourselves happy, because then that glorious spirit, which is the spirit of God, is resting upon you. If you must suffer, it must not be for murder, theft, or sorcery nor for infringing the rights of others (as when you violate the Ninth Commandment). If anyone suffers as a Christian, he should feel it no disgrace, but to confess the name of Christ to the honor of God. Awake! Be on the alert. The enemy is the devil and he, like a roaring lion, prowls around looking for someone to devour. Stand up to him. Be firm in the faith. And remember that your brother Christians are going through the same kind of suffering while they are in the world. And the God of grace, who calls you into his eternal glory in Christ will, himself, after a brief suffering, restore, establish, and strengthen you on a firm foundation. For it is He who holds dominion forever and ever. Amen.

The Attacks on the Churches

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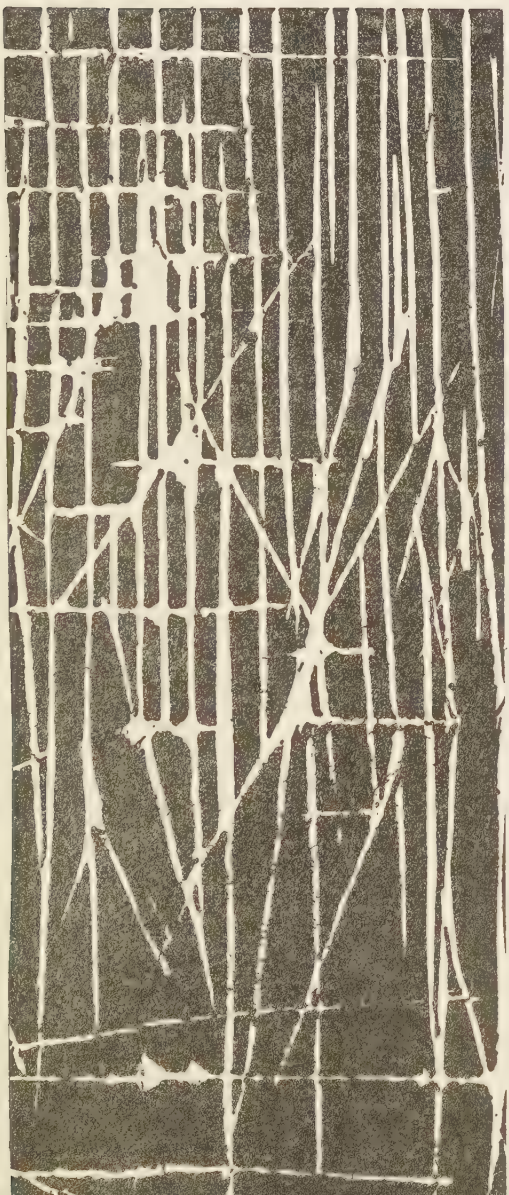

Recently a few highly vocal publicists have charged many American Protestant leaders with subversion and infiltration by Communists. Their accusations against the National Council of Churches, against the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, and against the Protestant ministry as a group have been widely publicized. The accusers build these accusations on several untenable assumptions—e.g., the infallibility of governmental investigating committees, guilt by association, and the invariable connection of "leftist ideas" and disloyalty. Most of the accusations stem from a small number of professional agitators. These men seem to be using charges of "Communism" as a device to discredit their critics and to advance a highly reactionary economic and political theory. It is of the utmost importance for Christians to know what the accusers are saying and what their errors are.

Attacks like this have gone on for several decades. They rise and fall in intensity, according to the political climate, the energy and imagination of the attackers, and sometimes the publicity given in the popular press. The most serious previous outbreak occurred in 1953 and 1954, with the accusations by Mr. J. B. Matthews, a member of the staff of Senator Joseph McCarthy's investigating committee, and by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, then under the chairmanship of Rep. Harold Velde (R-Ill.). Both the public and President Eisenhower were so indignant over Matthews's wild charges that Senator McCarthy had to accept his resignation from the committee staff. The Velde committee's behavior evoked a rebuke from the President and strong protest from many other quarters. Even after this outbreak

died down, the professional accusers continued to revive the charges whenever they could get an audience.

The issue arose again in February, 1960, over the attempt of a United States Air Force Reserve Training Manual to discredit the churches. Although the Air Force withdrew and immediately disavowed the manual, the professional accusers continue to agitate the issues.

These attacks are a serious matter for the Church. They disturb its members and weaken its unity. They sow distrust of its leaders. They distract it from its main business. Normally, wild charges are best ignored, but when they are destructive of morale they must be laid to rest before they do serious harm. This paper offers information to help Christians understand and act responsibly toward this danger.

What The Accusations Are

The professional accusers advance against churchmen an almost endless array of charges. Most of them are variations on three ideas:

1. They allege that the churches have been infiltrated by Communists and their sympathizers.
2. They accuse some person of being a member of so-called Communist fronts.
3. They allege that this person or that group favors views described as "leftist" or "pro-Commmunist".

These charges are easy to make, but they are difficult either to prove or to disprove. New ones appear so frequently that a person could spend all his time answering each accusation. The trouble is that the accusers never admit that any specific indictment has been refuted or that any given denial is decisive. An example of this has been the continual attack on Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam. When Bishop Oxnam was accused by members of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1953, he demanded and received a hearing before them. He so thoroughly refuted the charges that the committee voted, with no negative votes, that it had "no record of any Communist Party affiliation or membership by Bishop Oxnam." Even after this, three committee members continued to attack the Bishop, and the professional accusers repeatedly talk as if he had been found guilty. Answering the accusations does not silence the attackers, for they are not prepared to accept a verdict of acquittal.

A few specific charges need to be pinpointed, so as to explain some of the foregoing statements. First, the professional accusers frequently charge that the National Council of Churches has Communist sympathies or is "soft on Communism." The National Council's position on Communism is clear for all who wish to get the facts. Here is one of many similar statements of the Council:

> The National Council is and always has been unalterably opposed to communism. The General Board, meeting in Seattle, June 4, 1959, reaffirmed "the consistent position of the National Council of Churches expressed in many official actions opposing the evils, the violence and the violation of human rights by communist and other tyrannies." ("The National Council of Churches: What It Is, What It Does.")

In a letter to all members of Congress this spring, National Council leaders made this statement:

> The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its constituent communions are and always have been unalterably opposed to communism. . . . For the very reason that the National Council of Churches and its constituent communions hold this unalterable and consistent opposition to communism in any part of the world, the Council, with equal determination, also opposes and condemns—and will continue to oppose and condemn—all efforts, official or private, subtle or overt, intended or otherwise, to use agencies of any branch of government or media of mass communication under government regulation to defame church institutions or leaders, to subject church loyalty to the poison of innuendo; to differentiate between religious groups in point of patriotism, and thus to undermine religion itself, the centuries-old nature of the American people as a religious people, and the essential unity of our

nation in its life and freedom.
[New York: National Council of Churches, "The Truth," 1960, pp. 4-5.]

The National Council has thus given repeated evidence of its strong opposition to Communism.

The professional accusers also have claimed to see Communist influence in the statement of the Fifth World Order Study Conference, held in Cleveland in November, 1958, under the auspices of the National Council. One of the items in its report was the recommendation that the United States recognize the *de facto* government of Communist China. Nowhere do the accusers point out the context of this recommendation. It occurs in a long statement about the horrors of modern war, the importance of disarmament, and the need to reduce world tensions. The statement clearly pointed out the godlessness of Communism, its disruptive role in present world problems, and its destructiveness in the societies it has taken over. The conference felt that diplomatic relations with Communist China might serve several purposes: (1) They might allow us to carry to the Chinese people a better image of the United States. (2) Diplomatic relations would allow us to increase our knowledge of what is going on in China. (3) Negotiations with the Chinese could give disarmament talks a better chance for success. (4) Diplomatic relations might make possible some sort of relation with the churches in China. The statement explicitly pointed out that "such recognition does not imply approval,"—any more than our recognition of the Soviet Union or of Fascist Spain involves our approval. It is simply a fact that nations find that diplomatic relations are often useful even with governments they deplore. Whether it is actually desirable to recognize Communist China is a question which deserves to be carefully weighed on the basis of a realistic calculation of its probable effects—on the world situation and on our national self-interest. The Study Conference said that this question was, in fact, being debated in our own State Department. Its critics presume that it must not ever be discussed. None of this proves, however, that the Study Conference was "pro-Communist."

The accusers often assert that the National Council of Churches presumes to speak for all of its thirty-three member denominations. It makes no such claim; it explicitly disavows any such idea. The General Assembly of the National Council assumes the right to speak *to* the members of its constituent denominations, as any pastor would speak to his congregation or any Congressman to his constituency. The Assembly may "urge" the churches to take some action; it never orders them, nor can it do so. If churchmen dissent from its policies, they have established procedures for amendment. They can petition their denominational representatives to work for changes, or they can send other representatives to the Council. In any event National Council policies are not binding on the denominations.

A further charge is that the Revised Standard Version of the Bible reflects Communist influence. This attack is much like the charges against the King James Version when it first appeared—"blasphemy," "damnable corruptions," "intolerable deceit." It is charged that some of the men who worked on the Revised Standard Version have been participants in "subversive" groups. The National Council of Churches has denied that any of the hundreds of persons connected with the Revised Standard Version was either a Communist or a Communist sympathizer. The scholars who worked on the translation were among the most respected and able students of the Bible in the country. In addition they were devoted leaders in their denominations and active in civic concerns. It is quite proper to criticize the Revised Standard Version on any of

the accredited principles of linguistic study and textual analysis. Such criticism then can be judged for what it is worth. Most of the criticisms of the Revised Standard Version meet no such standards. The charge of communist influence is a backhanded way of expressing an antagonism that roots in *theological* disagreement.

Many fantastic estimates have been made of the number of "Communist supporters" among the nation's clergy. The wildest charge was J. B. Matthews's—"seven thousand."[1] Ralph Lord Roy, the foremost authority on both Communists and professional anti-Communists in relation to the churches, in his recent book, *Communism and the Churches,* states that the number of ministers "who have been Communists, or persistent—and identifiable—fellow travelers, has been minute . . . . Today, perhaps twenty-five of this number remain—or approximately seven one-thousandths of 1 per cent of American ministers, and most of these are not serving pulpits" (pp. 9-10). Because Mr. Roy's conclusions, based on careful research, contradict the claims of the professional accusers, they call him "left-wing." In 1953 he stated his political views as follows: "I am a Republican, generally a supporter of the 'middle way' of the present [Eisenhower] administration" (*Apostles of Discord,* p. x).

Nobody claims that there are *no* Communists or "fellow-travellers" among the clergy. A very few of these are clergymen, just as a few may exist in other professional groups. There is no need to hide or deny the existence of those whose Communist sympathies are carefully demonstrated, nor is there any need to try to justify their errors. But this should be done by established American procedures, which respect the rights and freedoms of individuals and which deal with evidence in legal fashion, not by insinuation and slander. Likewise no one need deny that some clergymen, like some other citizens, have been misled about organizations they have supported or have been careless or misinformed about Communist-front groups. Americans must always distinguish sharply, however, between error and disloyalty, between imperfect information and treason. It is a symptom of mental illness repeatedly to interpret the mistakes of other people as a conspiracy or plot.

[1] Matthew's figure is often taken as authoritative by other professional accusers, such as Robert Welch of the John Birch Society. This charge utterly distorts the facts.

False Assumptions

It is not enough to deal only with individual charges. We must learn to recognize the false assumptions which underlie the whole business.

In any statement from these quarters, it is possible to notice two or more of the following assumptions:

1. They assume that the list of groups cited by a governmental investigating body is an infallible way to identify a subversive organization.
2. They assume that a man is a Communist or a fellow-traveler, or at least that he aids and abets the Communist cause, if he ever belonged to certain "suspect" groups or ever was closely associated with others who did. This is the doctrine of guilt by association.
3. They assume that a person is Communist-influenced who advocates what they call "leftist" ideas.
4. They assume that it is necessary for an accused person to prove he is not disloyal and that it is possible for him to do so.

Each of these assumptions is false and it is important to see why this is so:

1. The assumption that the list of groups cited by a governmental investigating body is an infallible way to identify a subversive organization.

Several governmental agencies have occasionally published names of organizations designated "Communist" or "Communist-front." Federal agencies in this field include

the Office of the Attorney General of the United States, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee. On the state level there have been similar investigative committees in Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, California, Washington and Hawaii. These groups have varied widely in procedures and in carefulness. A careless committee can do more damage in a day by "citing" an innocent group than that group can undo in years. Some state investigating committees, such as the "Tenney Committee" in California, have been notoriously reckless. The Attorney General's list, on the other hand, has been more careful, though even it is not infallible.

A good key to how careful an agency is in its charges is the way it understands and applies the tests that identify a Communist-front organization. When these tests are not stated at all or are stated loosely, innocent groups can easily be implicated and needlessly harmed. Of the several tests stated by the House Committee on Un-American Activities two are good examples of the problem. One reads, "Does the organization follow the Communist Party line?" This criterion is a useful one if understood in the right sense: "Does the organization follow rigidly all the twists and turns of the Communist Party line" (The House Committee has stated the idea that way at times). An actual Communist-front organization shows its nature by responding like a puppet to every change on the part of the Soviet Communist Party. A loose reading of this criterion, however, could implicate an innocent group which incidentally agreed with some view held by the Communists at a given time. In 1938, for example, both the Communists and many non-Communist groups in the United States were calling for defense against Hitler, but this agreement did not make the non-Communist groups Communist. They held similar views for very different reasons.

Another House Committee test reads: "Does the organization receive favorable publicity in the Communist press?" This is a dangerous guide. Who is to keep the Communists from praising an innocent organization and purposely discrediting it in the eyes of the public? What is meant by "favorable publicity?" Was Richard M. Nixon's televised speech during his trip to the Soviet Union "favorable publicity?" Unscrupulous investigators can twist this phrase into a weapon of harassment.

Many governmental agencies have not been careful enough in their investigative procedures. They have pointed out numerous Communist fronts, but they have also implicated innocent persons and groups in the process. They often act as if they were courts, but do not abide by basic judicial principles which assume innocence until guilt is proved and require the accuser to face the accused.

"Citation" on an investigating committee's lists often means much less than the public has come to think. It may reflect careful analysis and a demonstration that its accusation is true. In other instances it may mean only that some witness has accused an organization before the committee, and this has been noted in the record. The witness may not have been cross-examined; he may have been poorly informed; he may be malicious or mischievous; his name will not accompany the citation; he may never have to face the accused.

These committees have made some notorious mistakes. The House Committee on Un-American Activities "cited" Consumers Union, the research organization which publishes *Consumer Reports*, as a Communist front back in 1944. Consumers Union initiated legal steps to protest the listing, but it was still on the committee's 1951 list. Finally, in 1954, *ten years after the*

original charge, the committee admitted that its accusation was unjust and removed Consumers Union from the list. Who can estimate the damage done to an innocent organization over that ten years? The same committee also insinuated that the Methodists' Epworth League was infiltrated by Communists. At the time of the insinuation, the Epworth League had been out of existence for several years, having been replaced by the Methodist Youth Fellowship. Nor was it *ever* a pro-Communist organization.

The press features an accusation and the public hears of it, but they may never hear of a group's acquittal. The professional accuser can capitalize on this fact. He can say, "This group has been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee," and he may be literally correct. He simply may ignore any admission that the citation is unjust.

For these reasons the lists published by governmental investigative agencies are far from infallible and require further—and *official*—evidence before they can be used in public debate.

2. The doctrine of guilt by association: the assumption that a man is pro-Communist if he was ever associated with a pro-Communist group or its leaders.

The accusation often takes this form: "The Rev. Mr. Doaks has been affiliated with 13 Communist and pro-Communist fronts, projects, publications, and enterprises." The accuser accumulates this list of "affiliations" by using the doctrine of guilt by association. An uninformed public may not see the errors in that doctrine, may not demand true evidence, and may mistakenly think that Mr. Doaks is undermining our nation.

Charges of this kind are doubly dangerous. For one thing they hide or distort the facts in the case. Furthermore, the theory of guilt by association is itself invalid.

The professional accuser may arrive at his figure "13" for Mr. Doaks in a variety of ways which involve hiding or distorting the facts. He may discover, for instance, that Mr. Doaks belonged to the Southern Conference for Human Welfare back in the late 1930's. He joined this group because it was, at that time, supported by several well-known Southern leaders of unimpeachable character and because it was concerned over social problems in the South. Later he and some friends began to suspect that other members were trying to draw the organization into supporting the Communist line. He and his friends first tried to defeat their opponents by parliamentary tactics, unsuccessfully. They then withdrew from the organization and publicly renounced their membership in it. Later the House on Un-American Activities cited the organization as a Communist front. The professional accuser is likely to disregard this history. He asserts that Mr. Doaks *was* a member, but not when, or how long, or why he joined and then dropped out. But still this counts as one of Mr. Doak's "13 affiliations" with subversive groups.

There have been occasions when ministers have discovered Communist influence in an organization and after withdrawing from the group, have been the ones to inform the F.B.I. of the group's character. Those same ministers much later have been wrongly accused by professional smearers of being subversive because they once belonged to that group!

Another instance computed in Mr. Doaks's "13 affiliations" involves his signing a petition to seek clemency for convicted spies. Mr. Doaks, like many Americans, has moral questions about the death penalty, and when the petition came to his notice he saw it as a way to express his views. Many other citizens took the same position, and Pope Pius XII actually sent a cablegram in behalf of the spies. Mr. Doaks, however, did not know—he had no way to know—that Communists originated the petition he

signed. Only after it was too late did he hear that they had featured it in their press and had listed his name along with many others. What could he have done? Some argue that he should have investigated the petition more thoroughly. The logic of that argument is that he should investigate thoroughly the membership of every organization he joins or supports—his civic club, his political party, his church, his P.T.A. chapter, his local Community Chest, and everything else. Most people in a free society join various groups on the basis of outward appearances and without absolutely airtight, thorough investigation; one has neither the time nor the resources to investigate every time he joins or signs everything. Even after reasonable precautions he will occasionally make a mistake, being human, but this will not make him a Communist sympathizer. If every group had to be fully cleared before any patriot could join, openness would give way to suspicion and nobody could *fully* trust anybody else.

The professional accuser counts as another of the "13 affiliations" the fact that Mr. Doaks has been a leader in the Liberal Party. He intends this to imply subversion. Most people outside New York almost never hear of the Liberal Party. It is a third party in New York City and has had considerable success in influencing the candidates of the two major parties in the state. Far from being Communist-influenced, the Liberal Party has actually helped to weaken the Communist Party in New York City. It is self-consciously and strongly anti-Communist. Yet the accuser uses membership in this group as "evidence" of subversion.

Again, Mr. Doaks is accused of belonging to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a national organization devoted to principles of non-violence. There, again, is an organization which is not a Communist front and has not been charged with subversion by the House Committee on Un-American Activities or by the Attorney General's Office. The accuser, however, believes that some members of the F. O. R. have also supported some known Communist fronts, and so he counts it in his list. His reasoning apparently is this: If a man is a member of a Communist front, Communism rubs off on him. If he joins another organization, he rubs Communism off on it. Why stop there? It is as logical—or illogical—to say that all members of the second group carry Communism to everything they join, to their families, their friends, their churches, and so on. This is absurd.

The source of error in all these instances is the doctrine of guilt by association. One journalist expressed the doctrine as follows: "Let us define infiltration: A barrel of apples with one rotten apple is infiltrated. The percentage of good apples in the barrel will not defend the apples." (Lynn Landrum, "How to Fight Infiltration," Dallas *Morning News,* March 3, 1960.) Guilt by association is the belief that a person becomes subversive simply by being around subversive people, whether he agrees with them or not, and whether he even knows he is around them or not. It is assumed that one Communist can corrupt a whole organization. It attributes a strange magical power to the Communists. All it would take to subvert an organization, the AFL-CIO or the American Legion—according to this theory—would be for a couple of Communists to join it.

Communism is powerful and dangerous, but it is not literally infectious as apple-rot or smallpox. One does not "catch" guilt like a disease—that is, simply by being around guilty persons. Pro-Communism involves a decision to be loyal to the Communist Party and its line; we do not "catch" it like measles and then wonder how it happened. If people did become subversive that way, how could they be held responsible, any more than the victim of measles is blamed for contracting it? But we do blame the pro-Communist and hold him

responsible. We do believe that he actually wished to support the Communist party. The doctrine of guilt by association is false; it is superstitious; and it is dangerous. Unfortunately, however, it is all too effective with uninformed or uncritical people, who fall for the false analogy that "where there is smoke, there's bound to be fire." The accuser sows suspicion; all of us have to reap its evils.

3. The assumption that a person is "Communist influenced" who advocates so-called "leftist" ideas.

People are sometimes accused of being "Communist-influenced" for holding ideas others do not like. The professional accuser often calls the people with whom he disagrees "leftists."

"Leftism" is a vague term. The accuser keeps his terms vague for a reason—clear and exact use of words weaken his charges. He can apply ambiguous terms to almost anybody. People have been labeled "leftists" for favoring social security, the income tax, or the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively—all widely accepted national policies. Church people have been called "leftist" for believing that Christianity has the right to criticize the social and economic order. The accusers ignore the fact that in Russia, at the time the Communists came to power, the Church was not concerned over social problems. It had long been kept under control and did not criticize social evils. People who want a tame church are weakening American society. Destroy the prophetic freedom of the churches and we will have taken the first giant step toward totalitarianism.

By calling liberals "leftists," and "leftists" "subversives," the accusers confuse people about what Communism is. The Communist always subordinates his social concerns to his allegiance to the Communist Party. Communists cynically use social issues to increase the Party's power. They change their views on an issue any time it will serve the Party's interests. A Communist in the United States is a person whose political loyalty is not to the United States, but to the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. This is why devoted Communists follow the Party's line so rigidly. This is also why American Communists are a threat to our nation. Communism today cannot be defined adequately as a group of ideas. Its defining characteristic is a fanatical political loyalty to Moscow.

Yet the professional accuser would have us believe otherwise. He runs together the meaning of words in this way: "liberal" means "leftist," which means "socialist," which is virtually the same as Communist, and so all of them mean subversive. He then calls somebody "liberal" or "leftist" and expects the public will make the connections. He would have us ignore what Communism really is and believe that the only true American thoughts are his brand. He then implies that anyone who disagrees is or may be disloyal. This is a blow at the roots of American freedom.

4. The assumption that it is necessary for an accused person to prove he is not disloyal and that it is possible for him to do so.

The accuser calls his victim a Communist sympathizer and then demands that he disprove it. "If you were a member of the Council [National Council of Churches], don't you think you would demand that you be given a hearing to testify to your absolute freedom from all taint of infiltration?" (Lynn Landrum, "Who Is Right About It?" Dallas *Morning News*, March 21, 1960.)

The assumption here is wrong, for at least two reasons. First, it contradicts the basic judicial principle which puts the burden of proof on the accuser and not on the accused. This is vital to justice. Otherwise innocent people would have to disprove any charge, however far-fetched, while their accusers could add or alter their

accusations. Under our legal tradition, if the accuser cannot make his charge stand up in court, the defendant goes free.

Besides, how does a person prove he has not been disloyal? Suppose someone were to accuse John Smith of being unfaithful to his wife. He could deny the charge and he might be innocent, but how could he *prove* he was innocent? He would have to account for every moment before he could show his innocence. He might be able to show that on this or that occasion he was innocent, but accounting for a few times would be insufficient. If someone saw him with another woman in a restaurant, could he prove he was innocent of any wrong-doing? He might deny the charge, but a guilty man would do that. His wife might swear he was innocent, but would not any wife do that to try to stop gossip? It is impossible to prove innocence of disloyalty, and it is right that innocent people are not required to do so. This is as true of political disloyalty as any other kind. The professional accuser knows it is impossible when he demands it, but keeps on demanding because such confusions serve his purpose.

The above four assumptions usually underlie reckless charges of subversion. None of the assumptions is valid, yet they form the basis of disreputable accusations against the National Council of Churches, our leading Protestant denominations, the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, our universities, and many others. These charges do not strengthen our nation, nor do they help us discover our enemies. Their effects are quite different.

What Irresponsible Charges Can Do

When professional detractors recklessly attack the churches, they produce results detrimental to the nation in many ways.

1. Random accusations give rise to a corrosive suspicion in our national life. They train us systematically to distrust our fellow citizens.[2] A rampant, irrational suspicion can destroy any community, and the person who sows it is dangerous.

2. Reckless accusations discredit innocent people and worthy projects. If the public accepts an accusation at face value, then all a jealous or disaffected person has to do to ruin some valuable organization is to accuse it of subversion.

3. These charges frighten people away from active participation in society. They create the fear of making a mistake and cause some not to commit themselves on any debatable social issue.

4. Unfounded attacks on the churches weaken the nation when they weaken the churches. Roscoe Drummond writes this in *The Christian Science Monitor* (February 27, 1960):

> The attacks on the Protestant churches in the Air Force publication unintentionally serve the Communist cause because they smear a religious force which is a great bulwark against all tyranny, including Communist tyranny. Protestant leaders validly make this point:
>
> "Free ministers in free pulpits, preaching to free people the liberating truths of Christ, are a chief bulwark of American freedom and the best guarantee of its future."

No greater disaster could befall the Church than for Christians to believe that they could not trust their own leaders. Yet this could happen if the accusers gain enough hearing. The Rev. Eugene Carson Blake, chief executive officer of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., has stated the churches' concern in this fashion:

> The stake that the Protestant churches have in this whole business is to keep themselves free to teach and preach the Gospel. Those who are pressing the church to keep out of economic and political areas, whether they know it or not, are attempting to make in this country a tame, kept church such as all totalitarian states attempt. (Quoted in the New York *Times*, March 28, 1960.)

5. Wild charges of subversion make it harder to discover who is really subversive.

[2] Robert Welch has written, "A secret Communist looks and acts just like anyone else, only more so" (*The Blue Book*, p. 97).

Where people suspect virtually anybody of subversion, actual Communists or spies are less in danger of apprehension, for people lose sight of what a Communist is and spend their energies pursuing innocent citizens.

6. Attacks on the churches' concern over social issues weaken the right of free speech. These attacks are denials that church people have the right to unpopular opinions on national issues. If the accusers win this battle, they may be able to restrict anyone's right to speak his mind.

Do the professional accusers want results like these? They claim they are defending our nation of dire peril. Do they realize that their methods and views are equally as threatening to our freedoms as the peril they claim to oppose?

Some Sources of the Attacks on the Churches

Much of the material for the attacks comes from a few main sources.[3] We may list the most prominent ones briefly:

Edgar C. Bundy, Wheaton, Illinois, is general chairman of the Church League of America. He advertises himself as a Bible expert, Air Force reserve officer, evangelist, and authority on Communism. He travels and lectures to community groups around the country, usually on the threat of Communism. In these talks he attacks a wide range of churchmen and groups—the National Council of Churches, local councils of churches, and Protestant leaders of many denominations. He is the author of *Collectivism and the Churches*, an attack on councils of churches and clergymen. He was a leader in the American Legion Department of Illinois attack on a Girl Scout handbook as "un-American."

Myers G. Lowman, Cincinnati, Ohio, is executive secretary of the Circuit Riders, Inc. The Circuit Riders was organized in 1951 by Lowman and several other Methodist laymen with the stated purpose of opposing "socialism and communism" in The Methodist Church. Under his leadership Circuit Riders, Inc., has published several lengthy pamphlets alleging subversion in the churches, including: "30 of the 95 Men Who Gave Us the Revised Standard Version of the Bible," which is apparently the source of some of the charges in the Air Force Reserve Training Manual. Lowman has published several lists which seek to prove that various groups of Protestant clergymen are Communist sympathizers: "1,411 Protestant Episcopal Rectors," "614 Presbyterian Church U. S. A. Clergymen," "2,109 Methodist Ministers." More recently he has put forth a book, *6000 Educators*, which makes a similar attack on the teachers in the nation's universities. He has also published "Recognize Red China?" an attack on the Cleveland World Order Study Conference of 1958.

Carl McIntire, Collingswood, N. J., is president of the International Council of Christian Churches, a leader and former president of the American Council of Christian Churches, and editor-in-chief of the "Christian Beacon," all of which are very much opposed to the National Council of Churches and the World Council of Churches. He was a minister in the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. until 1936, when the denomination declared him "guilty of conduct unbecoming a minister of the gospel" and of "violation of his ordination vows." He was suspended from his status as minister in that denomination and has never been reinstated. His groups have presistently attacked the major Protestant denominations, the National Council of Churches, and the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, charging them with modernism, pro-Communism, support of interracial harmony, etc. McIntire has been associated at various times with a variety of

[3] Most of the information on these sources given here is taken from a pamphlet, "The Truth," published by the National Council of Churches.

supporters of racism and anti-Semitism, such as Gerald L. K. Smith, Gerald Winrod, and Merwin K. Hart.

J. B. Matthews is a former staff director for the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and author of the article in the *American Mercury* of July, 1953, entitled "Reds and Our Churches." It was largely Matthews's activity which set off the wave of accusations against churchmen in 1953 and 1954. Matthews has moved from far left to far right in his political sympathies. In earlier years he was a member of the American League Against War and Fascism, described as a Communist-front organization. He later confessed and repudiated his Communist associations before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and became Research Director for the Committee. He has lectured and written widely on subversion and has supported Carl McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches and other attackers of the National Council of Churches.

Robert Welch is head of the John Birch Society with headquarters in Belmont, Massachusetts. His charges against the churches are not new but are based on accusations of J. B. Matthews and others. As autocratic head of the John Birch Society he is the stimulus for co-ordinated action through several thousand members in cells in most of the fifty states. His accusations are probably the most extreme and inclusive to be made up to now in this country. He includes under the categories of Communist or Communist sympathizer (and says it does not matter greatly which a person is) such people as President Eisenhower, Allen Dulles, and John Foster Dulles; he has organized a campaign to have Chief Justice Earl Warren impeached; and he declares that "the Communists have been heavily influencing all major decisions in our government since 1941."

Billy James Hargis of Tulsa, Oklahoma, is president and publisher of "Christian Echoes National Ministry, Inc.," and president of "Christian Crusade." He vigorously charges the National Council of Churches and Protestant ministers with pro-Communism. Hargis wrote two pamphlets listed as sources by the Air Force Reserve Training Manual: "Apostate Clergymen Battle for God-Hating Communist China," and "The National Council of Churches Indicts Itself on 50 Counts of Treason to God and Country." He publicizes his accusations widely, in public addresses, in print, and over the radio. Recently he arranged for a 26-week series with a half-hour program each week over a national radio network at the reduced rate for religious programs.

Other writers and commentators participate in the accusations; for instance, Dan Smoot and Fulton Lewis, Jr. Still others have taken part earlier but are less frequently heard of today, such as John T. Flynn and Stanley High. A very small group of people is actually responsible for keeping this business going. Their attacks are picked up by a few radio commentators, editorial writers, and others, and are too often repeated as if authoritative.

The accusers make frequent use of innuendo. One columnist, for instance, wrote that he "does not allege that the Revised Standard Version of the Bible is 100% Communist or 100% in error," and that he "does not assert or believe that the National Council of Churches . . . is 100% Communist" (Lynn Landrum, *Dallas Morning News*, February 23, 1960). This is the technique for implying charges that one cannot substantiate. He makes a statement which in its literal sense makes no accusation but which by implication does. It is like the old question, "Have you stopped beating your wife?"

People who are seriously concerned over these attacks wonder what is back of them. Are the attackers honestly seeking only to find Communists? This may explain some of them. Others discover that there is ready

money in the professional accusing business. Other common concerns, however, seem to bind professional accusers together. Many of them attack the major Protestant denominations in the name of a very conservative religious viewpoint. They constantly condemn what they call "modernism" in the churches. They make "anti-Communism" a device to attack Contemporary Protestantism in the name of doctrinal orthodoxy.

In still another respect many of the professional accusers agree. They want to silence the Protestant Church, to keep it from speaking on social problems. What they often object to is the very idea that the Church should have anything to say about social problems. The Church, they imply, should be a Sunday affair only and should be irrelevant to the rest of men's lives.

Furthermore, most of the professional accusers agree in supporting a reactionary political philosophy and in lack of respect for democratic processes. Over a long period of time this kind of viewpoint could cultivate in people suspicion of reasonable and moderate policies and receptiveness to radical changes in our democratic system. In a severe national crisis or setback, people might accept the kind of irrational extremes to which other nations have been driven when political fair play was abandoned. Some observers have commented that the extreme statements heard in America today are similar to those made in Germany in the late '20's, shortly before Hitler came to power.

Resources For Answering The Attacks

The major weapon which responsible churchmen have for meeting these attacks is accurate knowledge of the facts—one of the first responsibilities of a Christian in society. This knowledge, when available, can be used in a wide variety of ways: in sermons, lectures, discussion groups, radio and television talks, pamphlets and publications, articles in the church or the general press, and contacts with individuals who have responsibility for spreading the news.

People who wish to publicize the facts about the National Council of Churches, the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, and the attackers against the churches, will find further information in the following material.

Commager, Henry Steele. *Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. This book is a collection of articles which set the idea of guilt by association in the context of a more adequate understanding of the American tradition of individual freedom.

"Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications." Washington, D. C.: Committee on Un-American Activities, U. S. House of Representatives, revised and published as of January 2, 1957, to supersede Guide published on May 14, 1951. Herein are found a brief statement of the Committee's understanding of what a Communist front is and lists of groups cited before various governmental committees and agencies. Free upon request.

Horton, Philip. "Revivalism on the Far Right," *The Reporter,* July 20, 1961.

Morris, Willie. "Houston's Superpatriots," *Harper's,* October, 1961.

"The National Council of Churches: What It Is, What It Does." New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 1960. This pamphlet is a brief and up-to-date statement of the nature and policies of the National Council of Churches. It may be obtained from the Council offices, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y.

Roy, Ralph Lord. *Apostles of Discord.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1953. Roy's book is the most extensive factual analysis of "organized bigotry and disruption on the fringes of Protestantism." Unfortunately the book is seven years old and is out of print.

Roy, Ralph Lord. *Communism and the Churches.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960. Part of an excellent series of studies on "Communism in American Life," this book is exceedingly thorough, fair, and, in short, indispensable for a person seeking to keep informed in this field.

"The Truth." New York: National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 1960. This pamphlet includes statements about the position of the National Council toward Communism, editorial statements of major national newspapers on the Air Force Manual incident, information about the Revised Standard Version of the Bible and its producers, and information about attackers on the churches. (Available in quantities of 100 or more from the National Council of Churches offices.)

Wicklein, John. "Protestant Extremists Are Seeking To Curb Clergymen on Social Issues," *The New York Times,* March 28, 1960.

BOOKS

Schubert M. Ogden

editor

EXISTENCE AND FAITH: SHORTER WRITINGS OF RUDOLF BULTMANN. *Edited and translated by Schubert M. Ogden. Meridian, $1.45 (paper); $4.00 (cloth).*

For anyone who, like myself, was at Marburg University as a student in the late 'twenties and the middle 'thirties this collection of the shorter writings of Rudolf Bultmann recalls (and reflects) the excitement engendered at that time by the theological discussion in Marburg. The names of Bultmann, Heidegger, von Soden, and Otto—to mention only a few of the distinguished Marburg scholars—are sufficient to suggest the character of the issues, especially if one adds the names of Barth and (alas, also) Hitler.

Schubert Ogden has performed a welcome service by making available in admirably lucid, felicitous translation these shorter pieces, theological and historical, by Bultmann, with an Introduction that is highly useful, particularly to those readers who have had to rely mainly on the less than adequate discussions of Bultmann's work provided by certain British interpreters. Precisely these writings, and especially the earlier ones, have often been left out of account in studies of Bultmann's work. As Ogden points out, a perusal of the earlier writings exhibits the continuity in Bultmann's thought over the years; and in certain of them the reader must be able to hear between the lines the hurricane (and the sirens, seductive for many) of Nazism and also the protest of the Confessing Church in which Bultmann played a leading role.

It is not necessary to summarize here Bultmann's basic method and characteristic insights as they entail his theory of existentialist anthropology and demythologization —the nature of revelation, faith, historicity, authenticity, decision, openness to the future. Where can one find in brief compass a better account of these motifs than in the 1929 essay on "The Concept of Revelation in the New Testament"? Or a more deft combination of theological, historical (Greek and Hebrew), and exegetical analysis than in "The Meaning of the Christian Faith in Creation?" Here, by the way, Bultmann asserts flatly, as against Otto, that "the deity in which faith in creation believes is not the terrifying, the 'numinous,' the '*tremendum*,' but, on the contrary, the power that banishes the '*tremendum*'." In support of this view he cites Psalms 119:73; 100:3-5. Usually, however, he selects more paradoxical formulations.

Speaking of paradox, we should note that one of the exegetical essays in the volume, "Man Between the Times," sets forth what might be called a conception of the "fall" of primitive Christianity as evidenced in New Testament passages that surrender the initially dialectical conceptions of sin and guilt, of the Spirit, and of the interim period between the old and the new aeon. For example, from being interpreted as an eschatological gift, Spirit "becomes imprisoned in ecclesiastical tradition." Here Bultmann's view is somewhat similar to that of Rudolf Sohm.

Any adequate presentation of this volume would have to include a discussion of Bultmann's extraordinarily instructive essays on Paul, on Jesus and Paul, and on the anthropology of Paul, and also of his (dualistic) conception of *Historie* and *Geschichte*. Particularly instructive would be a comparison and contrast of Bultmann's and Troeltsch's conceptions of creation, time, and decision. Bultmann, orientated to Heidegger, tends to emphasize, indeed to isolate, immediacy of decision.

A Bultmannian existentialist theme that

recurs again and again in this volume concerns the faith that issues in freedom from false securities, from legalism, from the past, and in concreteness of decision. One does not need to be a Calvinist (though, to be sure, it would help) to observe the bondage of Bultmann to his own Lutheran past. In his writings one finds relatively little explicit concern for the obligations of the Christian in face of institutional structures of the social order—that is, for the obligation to transform the law (and not simply to be freed from it). Much emphasis is placed upon the words freedom, decision, concreteness, but the terms too often are presented *in vacuo*. Existentialism is thus reduced to abstractions about concreteness of decision. We must question whether Heidegger has asked the right questions about man, even for the purpose of the theologian's preunderstanding. And apart from this consideration, references to the doctrine of the ordinances of creation scarcely meet the demand for theological interpretation of the state, particularly if one seeks the timeliness and concreteness of decision recommended by Bultmannian existentialism. Bultmann leaves his conception of authenticity of Christian behavior too readily amenable to purely non-sociological and eschatological interpretation. Yet, he would be the first to recognize that merely negative reaction to cultural idolatries is an inadequate response for Christian faith if it is to be responsible.

In the concluding paragraph of his Introduction, Ogden questions Bultmann's characteristic claim that it is only through Jesus Christ that "the decisive event of divine-human encounter can be actualized." Ogden has dealt cogently with this issue also in his previous articles on Bultmann. I would only add that, with respect to the status of Christian faith in face of the other religions, Troeltsch's *Historismus* may represent a more existentialist and more authentic conception of historicity than Bultmann's view. Bultmann appears to leave out of account Schleiermacher's insistence that one must come to terms positively with "religiousness" in general, as well as with its Christian articulation.

In this problem area there remains a good deal of unfinished (and disregarded) business. Bultmann's approach, as presented in the volume before us, will be for years to come the starting-point and fulcrum of our grappling with this and other unfinished business—with the problems of "existence and faith." His treatment of New Testament themes represents a major accomplishment of our time.

James Luther Adams

RELIGIONS OF THE EAST. *By Joseph M. Kitagawa. Westminster, $4.50.*

While undoubtedly there is much yet to be discovered and reported concerning the world's religions, still all writers of introductory surveys of the major faiths are obliged continually to utilize essentially the same readily available primary data. If one hopes to achieve freshness in this endeavor, he must employ a novel style or perspective, or, he must organize the data according to a particular theme which is in some manner importantly recurrent in all of the religions he undertakes to describe.

The latter is Professor Kitagawa's technique in the present volume. Asserting quite validly that "in religion solitude seeks communion" and that "religion is by nature a fellowship and communion," the author insists that within each religion there is the concept or the ideal of a "holy community" which consciously or unconsciously functions among the devotees as the central integrative factor. Thus, the role of the "holy community" is made the pivotal theme in the book.

This is a useful device, and the author employs it interestingly and effectively to analyze the character and development of Chinese religions and the family system, Hinduism and the caste system, Buddhism and the Samgha, and Islam and the *Ummah*. Each of these studies is climaxed by pointed references to the contemporary encounter of the Eastern religious communities and "modernity." It is at these points that the author makes his most significant contribution. He brings to this study the quite rare advantage of having bridged two

hemispheres in his own person and experience. An Asian by birth and education through college, and a Westerner by naturalization and advanced training, Kitagawa has the enviable ability to speak authentically from "within" many of the critical religious confrontations of our time.

I have only one negative criticism of the book. It concerns literary method primarily, and my objection may simply reflect my own personal bias; however, I do believe it to be serious. The author makes far too extensive use of quotations from secondary sources. Probably the quotations will average about one to a paragraph, and generally they are woven into the text more, it would seem, as substitutes for the author's own wording than as clinchers for his arguments.

H. Neill McFarland

BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY. *By G. Ernest Wright. Westminster, $1.65.*

This book is an abridged edition of a volume first published by Westminster in 1957. The present abridgement, made by a British clergyman, is to appear in Great Britain as a part of Duckworth's "Studies in Theology" series. The earlier edition, which was a lavish production, highly priced but beautifully bound and illustrated, has undergone a considerable transformation. The numerous illustrations, maps, and figures have all been removed. Large chunks of the text are missing, and many passages have been rewritten to bring the book up to date and to make it more palatable for popular consumption. The form of presentation, of course, remains the same—a breezy narration of the broad outline of biblical history spiced with anecdotes and illustrative materials collected from various excavations in the lands of the Bible.

On the whole it is an entertaining book, easy to read, and only occasionally testifying to editorial reconstruction by the disconnection of thought sequence. One wonders, however, to what circle of readers it was intended to make its appeal. It is manifestly not a scholarly publication and hence can not have been intended for serious use in universities and seminaries. At the same time, the failure to include any maps, sketches or drawings is certainly bound to curtail its value to the reading public or to anyone who is not already in possession of an archaeological handbook or historical geography, either of which might well preclude the necessity of purchasing this particular book.

W. J. A. Power

MOSES. *By Gerhard von Rad. World Christian Books 32. Association Press, $1.00.*

Von Rad may well be the greatest living Pentateuchal critic. Happily, his commentary on Genesis and the first volume of his theology of the Old Testament, in which the Pentateuch plays a primary role, will soon be presented in English editions.

The present book is an excellent, brief interpretation of the books of Exodus and Numbers, focusing on the Mosaic traditions. It is based on formcritical study of the sources, but does not assume prior knowledge of such study on the part of the reader, nor does it take him through any analysis of the sources. Should the reader be a novice in biblical study, his curiosity in critical and historical matters ought to be aroused by this book. But even more, he will be encouraged to ponder the theology of the Old Testament. The more sophisticated student of the Bible will find here a concise and eloquent summary of those aspects of Mosaic faith with which he is already familiar, and will probably also be shown facets of the tradition that he had not seen before. The style of the book is polished and clear.

In a seven-page chapter on Moses the man, the author depicts the Hebrew leader as a lowly and lonely vehicle of divine providence and revelation. This may be an extremely fragmentary biography, but how much more of the historical Moses can we actually discern behind the later traditions that now comprise the Pentateuch? Martin Buber, in what is also a provocative study of Moses (paperback title: *Moses: The Revelation and the Covenant*), is led by the wish to know more to suspend his literary-critical judgment at many points in a way that can

only be called arbitrary. The result is profoundly suggestive but highly speculative. By contrast, von Rad is consistent in his method and never exceeds in historical statement what source analysis will reasonably permit. As a result, we are constantly made aware that we are dealing with the later deposit of the Mosaic faith and not simply with Moses himself. That this need not lead to a reduction of the validity and power of Pentateuchal theology, however, is beautifully demonstrated by this little book.

The heart of the book deals with three problems. Chapter Two gives one of the most acute yet well-rounded statements in print of the meaning of the name, and therefore of the person, of God in the book of Exodus. Next comes the relationship between Israelite faith and polytheism (the first commandment), on the one hand, and idolatry (the second commandment), on the other. Thirdly, the Old Testament expression of religious obedience in law is admirably surveyed. Here the legal traditions are set in both liturgical and theological contexts and the social and religious objectives of many of the laws are ably sketched. A closing chapter shows the way through the book of Numbers, from wilderness promise to Palestinian fulfilment, in the story of election and covenant.

These are eighty rich pages.

James M. Ward

THE LAYMAN'S BIBLE COMMENTARY, XX: ACTS OF THE APOSTLES. *By Albert C. Winn. John Knox, $2.00 (4 or more copies $1.75 each).*
THE LAYMAN'S BIBLE COMMENTARY, XXV: I JOHN, II JOHN, III JOHN, JUDE, REVELATION. *By Julian Price Love. John Knox, $2.00 (4 or more copies $1.75 each).*

Both these volumes try to meet the layman where he actually is in his own views about the Bible, to help him evaluate those views and guide his study in the central religious concerns of the books under consideration. Although both achieve a good measure of success, several aspects of the commentary on Acts raise questions about one's concept of a layman's commentary.

The interpretation of Acts rests heavily on several assumptions that are highly questionable, especially Dodd's view that the New Testament writers, in citing the Old Testament, had in mind (and expected their readers to be aware of) the larger context from which a quotation came and that the speeches of Peter in the first part of Acts present the pre-Pauline preaching of the earliest Christians. Furthermore, although Winn is well aware that the author had theological aims in writing Luke and Acts (see his article in *Interpretation,* 1959, pp. 144 ff.), his approach throughout the commentary is pre-formcritical in that he regularly asks the question of historical possibilities, but only rarely the question of the author's intention. For example, in the section on the election of Matthias (Acts 1:15-26), many historical questions are put, although there is nothing said of the author's aim in writing this section. Peter's speech is interpreted entirely on the assumption that it is an accurate summary in which Peter cited Psalms 69 and 109 because they suggested to him "details of the suffering of Jesus which were still fresh in his mind" (i.e., citation to invoke the larger context). Yet the point of the whole episode (a replacement for Judas) can be supported scripturally with the statements excerpted from these two psalms only when the excerpts are used out of their original contexts: in order to apply to Judas one of the maledictions from Psalm 69:23-29, all of which are directed against enemies in the plural, "their camp" (Psalm 69:26) must become "his habitation" (Acts 1:20); what in both Psalms 69 and 109 was man's malediction against his enemies here becomes God's command. Not only is Dodd's theory of Old Testament citation inadequate at this point (as Haenchen's commentary has shown), but the likelihood that the speech is composed around Septuagint texts disposes one to interpret the speech other than from Peter's recollections and his use of the Old Testament before a Jerusalem audience. Add to this the commentator's apparent lack of sympathy with

recent studies in Acts (e.g., Dibelius, Vielhauer, Conzelmann, Haenchen), and one wonders why a layman's commentary must present a New Testament writer of narrative primarily as a chronicler and not as a theologian in his own right.

Volume XXV is better. Apart from undue tenderness toward traditional views of authorship, the introductory sections are admirable: they are brief, give clear statement of the background issues, show something of the course of development of Christian thought within the New Testament, and succeed in introducing the reader to the concerns of the document as religious concerns. The exposition is likewise well thought out, sensitively applied, and clearly presented. None of us will agree on all points, but this volume goes a long way toward answering my question of what a layman's commentary ought to be.

William C. Robinson, Jr.

JESUS OF NAZARETH. *By Günther Bornkamm. Translated under the supervision of James M. Robinson. Harper, $4.00.*

Around the beginning of the century, New Testament scholarship concluded, not without reason, that it is impossible to write a life of Jesus. Nevertheless, biographies have continued to appear, although with their indifference to history they leave much to be desired. During recent years there has been going on in Germany a different type of study which has been called "a new quest of the historical Jesus," and the book under review is the best example we have of this approach. First published in German in 1956, it was translated into English under the final supervision of James M. Robinson, to whom we are also indebted for his own informative writings about this new quest.

Plainly written, and designed for laymen as well as scholars, it is a rather small book to deal with such a significant problem. Its nine chapters, apart from the appendixes and notes, cover less than 200 pages.

In the introductory chapter, entitled, "Faith and History in the Gospels," Bornkamm lists the difficulties that stand in the way of historical knowledge, and sets forth his presuppositions and methodology. This is an important section, and the author's invitation to skip it on the first reading ought not to be accepted.

Also quite significant is the section comprised of Chapters Four ("The Dawn of the Kingdom of God") and Five ("The Will of God"). Here the advance in the argument consists of illustrations, and the illustrations consist of relevant synoptic passages penetratingly interpreted. (Unless the minister is willing to rewrite many of his sermons, however, he should leave this section alone!).

The chief excellency of the book, however, lies not in its separate parts, but in the fact that it represents the opening up, on a higher level, of an important question that was considered closed.

What makes the historical task so difficult, Bornkamm argues, is that history and interpretation are interwoven to such a degree that they cannot, with assurance, be separated. But, in addition, the whole concept of biblical history has been so misconceived that the student often finds himself engaged with irrelevant or unimportant questions. For the early church, historical factuality was of secondary importance; the main concern was with the present, with "who he (Jesus) is, not who he was." Yet the past was not discounted; the "Christ of experience" was identified with the "Jesus of history." It is for this reason that the Christian community has never felt any embarrassment in taking the words of Jesus to his disciples as applicable to, even if not intended for, its own present-day guidance. The failure to recognize this identification means the cleavage between faith and history.

That the historical Jesus can be known the author has no doubt. The important question is in what way and to what extent. Although Bornkamm denies the possibility, and even discounts the legitimacy, of the hope of anything resembling a biographical representation, there is, he feels, a nucleus of incontrovertible fact about

Jesus' personality and career. When history is thought of not as chronological sequence, or as the linkage between cause and effect, but as occurrence and event, one is in position to apprehend these facts. When one considers the vivid portrayals of Jesus in the pericopes, and how the practical interest of the church was served by these pericopes, he is constrained to believe that tradition has caught the essential features of the historical person. This becomes even more apparent when these stories are set in historical contexts. In the written gospels, Jesus, whether as prophet of the coming kingdom, or rabbi proclaiming the will of God, is seen in living contact with real human beings. Here everything comes alive. Jesus' character as teacher—his immediacy, his directness, his authority—shines with unmistakable clarity. In his dealings with people—all sorts of people—his sovereignty is authentically manifest. Nothing appears strained or strange. Everything is natural and true to life. Here, we feel, is the historical Jesus.

Bornkamm has been criticized on two closely-allied points: for (1) his denial that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah, and (2) the great number of instances he adduces where, he feels, interpretation or adaptation has changed, or even distorted, the original meaning. But neither of these is a telling criticism. For even if Jesus considered himself to be the Messiah, the problem of determining what his contemporaries meant, and particularly of determining what he himself meant by the term would still remain. And as regards the great number of instances where Bornkamm claims facts have been colored by faith, one can only say that this is a matter of degree; for it would be difficult to find any New Testament scholar today who would deny that such a process was operative from the beginning.

One need not agree with all of Bornkamm's interpretations and conclusions. But the careful and conscientious reader easily discerns that in this epoch-making book competent scholarship and deep Christian experience are met together.

Wesley C. Davis

NEWLY DISCOVERED GNOSTIC WRITINGS. *By W. C. van Unnik. Alec R. Allenson, $1.75.*
THE THEOLOGY OF THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THOMAS. *By Bertil Gärtner. Harper, $5.00.*
THE GOSPEL OF TRUTH. *By Kendrick Grobel. Abingdon, $4.00.*

Time was when the nineteenth century was eulogized as the period of great ancient manuscript discoveries. But within the last twenty years fresh manuscript finds have been made that promise to dwarf in importance all those made during the previous century. This is a judgment not only of biblical scholars, but one shared by manuscript experts and historians as well. One group of these manuscripts, the Dead Sea or Qumran scrolls, are by now well known to the educated public. These were found in caves along the northeast shore of the Dead Sea, and have already shed important new light on Judiasm during the centuries immediately before and after the beginning of the Christian era.

Another group of manuscripts dating from the first half of the second century A.D. has been found in caves to the south of Qumran in the central section of the east shore of the Dead Sea. The first of this later group of manuscripts were discovered ten years ago, while the most recent and richest of all finds was made just this past spring. Nothing at present is available to the English reading public on these second century Bar Cochba discoveries. The Qumran and Bar Cochba documents, all Jewish and Palestinian in origin, are clearly to be distinguished from those found at Nag Hammadi in upper Egypt in the late 'forties. These Egyptian manuscripts are Christian in origin. The manuscripts themselves seem to date from the fourth century A.D., but the date of composition of some of the documents reaches back into the second century A.D. These documents shed important new light on the history and theology of early Christianity in Egypt, which until now has been shrouded in obscurity, being known only indirectly through church fathers loyal to the catholic ortho-

doxy which developed in the west and of which our New Testament canon is the primary witness.

Van Unnik's book provides the reader with a preliminary survey of the find, which has produced thirteen codices all written in various dialects of Coptic, the ethnic language of the early Egyptian Christians. What we have, in van Unnik's judgment, is actually a compilation of documents, held together by a strong interconnecting link of Gnosticism, but deriving from clearly distinguishable groups. The thirteen different codicies present us with around fifty separate books or treatises. Van Unnik treats four of these, the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Truth, the Apocryphon of John, and the Apocryphon of James. Until now only two of these have received much public attention, the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of Truth.

Bertil Gärtner's book approaches the Gospel of Thomas not as a collection of sayings, which may tell us more about the historical Jesus, but rather as a document produced in and for a community in which the sayings of Jesus are treated as transparent media offering direct access to the divine mysteries from the point of view of an acosmic asceticism.

Kendrick Grobel's book includes a translation of the Gospel of Truth, together with an introduction and commentary. He treats it as a meditation of Valentinus, the brilliant second century Gnostic.

All three books represent balanced and reliable scholarly treatments of their subjects, and may be recommended to the readers of the *Journal* for what they are, namely, preliminary, not definitive works.

Some critics find striking parallels between these Gnostic writings and the contemporary existentialists who would demythologize the Christian tradition. For myself, when I read these ancient documents, I am more reminded of the piety that permeates the older adult Sunday school class in some churches. Here, too, one finds quasi-Christian fellowships that manage to exist within the church without participating in its real life. They have a life much of their own, with their privately selected teachers, their separate worship services, their special meals, special interests, and a theology that is otherworldly and individualistic. Grobel translates one phrase, "Jesus of infinite sweetness," which symbolizes the point of contact to which I would draw attention. This analogy, like all historical analogies, is inexact, but it serves to remind the reader that ancient documents can have a contemporary relevance—and sometimes at points where he might least expect it.

William R. Farmer

THE ETHIC OF JESUS IN THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH. *By John Knox. Abingdon, $2.00.*
ETHICS AND THE GOSPEL. *By T. W. Manson. Scribners, $2.75.*

Professor Knox, in his characteristically lucid and provocative way, is concerned, first of all, to maintain the absoluteness of Jesus' ethical demand, and the way in which his teaching "places us under an obligation which we cannot, with our utmost effort, fully discharge." Jesus' commands are not to be diluted by saying that he does not mean them literally, or that they are "principles" and thus less mandatory than rules, or that they are only "ideals," or that they were intended only for a special class, or that they constituted an ethic just for the interim before the eschaton, or an ethic just for the kingdom itself. Jesus' ethic demands nothing less than "perfect obedience to the law of love," and that such perfection is not attainable does not change this demand. The answer to the problem with which the Christian is thus confronted is found in Jesus' preaching of the forgiveness and love of God.

In developing this theme, Knox deals especially with Paul's emphasis upon grace and justification. Here, as in earlier writings, he contends that Paul's substitution of the metaphor of "justification" for that of "forgiveness" "sets grace and law against each other in a way that seriously distorts both Jesus' teaching and the realities of the Christian's experience." Paul's theology, according to Knox, affords no *theoretical* ground for an ethic, and thus sows the seeds of

antinomianism. "'We are forgiven' is a truer statement of our situation than is 'We are justified.' And forgiveness does not involve release from law, but pardon under law and the restoration of fellowship under law."

The issues Knox raises are numerous and important. His exposition of Jesus' ethic is illuminating at many points, although its relation to Jesus' eschatological preaching is not clearly indicated. His exposition of Paul's ethic, on the other hand, is wholly inadequate. It shares some of the misunderstandings evident in the work of the nineteenth century interpreter, Paul Wernle, who in moralizing Paul's conception of sin, and thus also his idea of being "dead to sin," failed to discern the integrity of indicative and imperative in the Apostle's thought. Knox, similarly, argues that there is no theological motive for obedience in Paul's thought, assuming that only "law" ("God's categorical demand upon my moral life") can provide that motive. But it seems to me that Knox does not adequately grasp what Paul means by sin, grace, or justification, and that he wrongly interprets Paul's view of the law. (For example, I would argue with his exegesis of Romans 7 and Galatians 3.) Most notably, he omits any consideration that Paul's emphasis on "faith" involves radical, grateful obedience to God. Against Knox, it must be urged that for Paul the motive and ground of obedience is clear and compelling: it is thanksgiving. Paul's is a "eucharistic ethic," demanding a total surrender to God of the life God has bestowed. This is what it means to say that the indicative is the ground of the imperative.

The thesis of T. W. Manson's posthumously published lectures is that "the Sermon on the Mount takes the best and deepest things in the Jewish creed and code of conduct and adds to them the still deeper insights of Jesus himself." These "deeper insights" have to do with the commandment (in the Fourth Gospel) to "love one another as I have loved you." Manson turns not to Paul's letters, but to the Book of Acts for evidence concerning the earliest church's reception and development of Jesus' ethic. He finds a clear line of development between the ethic of Jesus and the teaching of the church, in which "the law of Christ is the law." This idea, shared with C. H. Dodd, could presumably be used to answer Knox's charge about Paul's theoretical antinomianism; for certainly Manson sees no discrepancy or tension between Jesus' ethic and that of the church. Thus he can assert that "in the last resort the Christian ethic inevitably comes back to Christ himself. It is from him that it derives its content, its form and its authority."

One has the feeling that Manson, had he lived, would have expanded and supplemented the lectures prior to publication. It is regrettable that this slender volume does not adequately reflect the scholarly stature of its author. For this reason, and because the lectures were semi-popular in nature, I hesitate to press the several possible objections (basically of the historical-critical kind) that need to be raised.

Knox's book, it must be concluded, grapples more fully, if not more convincingly, with the important theological issues. Although, like Manson, he affirms a *historical* continuity between the ethical teachings of Jesus and Paul, unlike Manson, he emphasizes a significant *theological* disjunction between them, and then considers the implications of this for contemporary thought. Given the scope and concerns of these two books, I am prompted to suggest that their titles ought to be exchanged, thereby providing a clearer idea, in each case, of the author's intentions.

Victor P. Furnish

PROTESTANT THOUGHT AND NATURAL SCIENCE. *By John Dillenberger. Doubleday, $4.50.*

This volume is a careful, perceptive, and fully documented historical study of the deeper issues that lie behind the conflicts between science and religion from the Protestant Reformation to the present day. It is written from a bias, but the bias is broadly Protestant, informed by neo-orthodox and existentialist theology. (Its bias is "neither to the right of Barth nor to the left of Tillich," says the author.) Certain forms of

Protestant orthodoxy and Protestant liberalism are rejected. These movements erred in their reaction to science either by defying the new science or by capitulation to its ethos.

The book is divided into two major sections. The first section is the historical study of the relationship of science and religion beginning in the sixteenth century. It covers in detail the major conflicts from the breakdown of the Ptolemaic world view through the impact of Copernicus. The author digs behind the surface arguments to the Aristotelian philosophical and metaphysical assumptions that informed the Ptolemaic world picture of the Bible, and also behind the variety of assumptions that variously informed the scientists from Copernicus, to Boyle, to Newton, to Darwin, etc. He traces the theological reaction (from the Reformers who did not defend a literal Bible) through the sterile arguments of an embattled and eventually discredited orthodoxy, to the capitulation of liberalism and the natural theologians. It is a fascinating story, the overtones of which are still with us.

The second section of the book, the smaller of the two, is entitled "Notes on New Directions." Here, contemporary literature on the subject is not treated as extensively as the historical literature in section one. Rather, the aim is to present in summary form the new directions being taken in science and religion as regards their relationship, conflicts, and common interests. One can only hope that Dillenberger will later take the whole sweep of the contemporary problems of science and religion and deal with them in a book of its own that will take us beyond the works of such men as Canon Arthur F. Smethurst and C. A. Coulson. I find myself more sympathetic with the Dillenberger bias!

Who should read this book? It should be required reading and in the personal library of every student worker or other minister on the college or university campus. And it should be read by all ministers and laymen who are participating in the theological revival now underway in the church.

J. Claude Evans

THE COST OF DISCIPLESHIP. *By Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Translated by R. H. Fuller, with some revisions by Irmgard Booth. Macmillan, $3.00.*

"Cheap grace is the enemy of our Church. We are fighting today for costly grace." These timely words open the fine first chapter of this book, a chapter that protests vigorously against the justification of sin without the justification of the sinner. Too often, Bonhoeffer has argued, we bestow cheap grace on ourselves by accepting forgiveness without repentance, baptism without church discipline, communion without confession—in short, grace without discipleship.

After the first chapter, however, a noticeable decline sets in, and the addition of ten more chapters in this second edition, making thirty-two in all, is not enough to redeem a work that had very little to commend it in the abridged first edition (1948). It is a pity that publishers have not always learned from the musical world the knack of lifting a good overture from a bad opera. Had the publisher done so in this instance the theological world would have been spared some sloppy scholarship.

Properly speaking, this is not one book but three. No notion of this, however, has been given to the reader. Consequently, if he attempts to approach the book as a unity and to seek therein a consistent treatment of discipleship, he will be headed for frustration. The largest corpus of the three (pp. 48-198) is a series of twenty-five homilies based on texts chosen from the synoptic gospels. The focus here is on discipleship, which is said to be in opposition to everything in the world and to require a breach with all the natural ties of life. The next largest corpus (pp. 205- 275) is a series of five discourses on Acts and the Pauline letters, not based on particular texts but ranging thematically over the material at large. The central concern of this corpus is with the church, the distinctive characteristic of which, baptism, is said by Bonhoeffer to be the Pauline equivalent of discipleship. At the same time, the world receives critical but less negative evaluation than in the former work. The smallest corpus (pp. 35-

47) is the first chapter taken alone, a historical and constructive essay that has ceased to flay the world as such and has undertaken to flay sin in the world. There remains only the chapter grossly misentitled "Preliminary Questions" (pp. 201-204), which in form is like the second corpus, but in content merges with the first, and is indeed a summary statement of it.

Further evidence that this is the true nature of the book is readily at hand. Some of it can be mentioned briefly here. The opening chapter on cheap and costly grace provides an excellent focus around which to develop the homilies on discipleship and the discourses on the church. But there is no mention whatsoever of this typology of grace beyond the first chapter, even where excellent occasions arise for doing so. Was this chapter written after the rest of the book had been completed, and simply added as its introduction without integrating it with the rest? Furthermore, the 1948 edition refers erroneously in Chapter Thirteen to Chapter Five, when Chapter Six is obviously intended. If Chapter One were not included, the reference would have been correct.

The same comedy of errors is repeated in the new edition (publisher take note!), except that, because still another chapter has been added to the first corpus, it is in Chapter Fourteen that the incorrect reference to Chapter Five occurs (when Chapter Seven is now intended). Still again, there are two chapters entitled "The Visible Community" separated in space by twenty-three others and carrying on no conversation with each other, an oddity that makes no sense until one realizes that they are respectively parts of two essentially different books.

How did this work by Bonhoeffer develop in this form? This reviewer has no certain evidence, but he would not be surprised to learn that it was put together, largely unedited, out of the hurried manuscripts Bonhoeffer delivered as head of the underground seminary in Pomerania from 1935 to 1937. If so, it is actually a tract of the times, very much like some of the tortured writings of the French Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century. This would explain the vehemence of its expression and the looseness of its thought and arrangement. It would also suggest the possibility that the first chapter represents a transitional stage in Bonhoeffer's thought leading toward the more mature position of those two truly impressive works from his pen, *Prisoner for God* and *Ethics*.

The relation of this book to his later position has been greatly confused by publisher and translator alike. One example will suffice. The publisher chose to print an introductory memoir by G. Leibholz informing the reader that "Bonhoeffer did not take a pacifist line." This was obviously true of his later life when he joined in the conspiracy on the life of Hitler. But how this sweeping statement can be reconciled with the consistent advocacy of pacifism in this book is more than this reviewer can understand. At this time in his life Bonhoeffer even argued that "the precept of nonviolence applies equally to private life and official duty." The translator has compounded the confusion by rendering *Nachfolge* not as *Discipleship*, which it should be, but as *The Cost of Discipleship*, thereby calling to the reader's mind the heroic martyrdom of Bonhoeffer in later years. But the Bonhoeffer who participated in the plot on Hitler's life was not the pacifist of this book, and any attempt to give credence to the other-worldliness it expresses by associating it with his later experience is a questionable practice indeed.

Except for the first chapter, this book should have died a quiet death. The publisher has done the reputations of the author, the translator, and himself no good by resurrecting it. Cheap scholarship is the enemy of theological education. We are fighting today for costly scholarship.

Frederick S. Carney

NOTEBOOKS 1914-1916. *By Ludwig Wittgenstein. Edited by G. H. von Wright and G. E. M. Anscombe and translated by G. E. M. Anscombe. Harper, $7.00.*

A philosopher is famous if he is the fountainhead of a "movement." Wittgenstein performed the unprecedented role of ini-

tiating two such movements in contemporary philosophy: logical positivism and linguistic analysis. These two movements are actually divergent, though they are often confused. The first stems from his book *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus,* published in 1919, and the second, radically different, stems from his teaching in Cambridge, England, beginning in 1929 and culminating in his *Philosophical Investigations,* which were published posthumously in 1953.

These notebooks are what the title signifies, preliminary and private reflections set down while the *Tractatus* was taking form in Wittgenstein's mind. They are highly technical and not for the general reader, not even one wishing to find out who Wittgenstein was or what he was about. It is illuminating only to those who are familiar with the *Tractatus* and who wish more background as an aid in interpreting that book.

Van A. Harvey

GOD AND CAESAR IN EAST GERMANY. *By Richard W. Solberg. Macmillan, $4.95.*

God and Caesar in East Germany is a book for those who are tired of the mouthings of demagogues and adventurers and want to learn with the help of an expert what the Christian encounter with Communism really means. Dr. Solberg is a recognized historian (Professor at Augustana College, Sioux Falls); his doctorate is an honest degree (University of Chicago); and he writes with the authority of scholarship and firsthand experience. He was an officer in American Military Government, stationed in Berlin after the war, and after that he was director of Lutheran World Service in Germany (with offices in Stuttgart and Berlin). He knows the German situation intimately, is acquainted with the key leaders of the Christian resistance to Nazism and Communism (Dibelius, Lilje, Niemoeller, von Thadden), and with his staff dealt for years with the day-by-day tragedy of human beings coming through Berlin from Communist tyranny to the West.

The book documents thoroughly the story of the Communist effort to subvert and destroy the Christian church. He gives the record and the organizational pronouncements of the little band of collaborating pastors in Communist East Germany, several of whom were leaders in collaboration with the Nazis during the Third Reich. He publishes and comments on the correspondence and documents of Christian resistance on such matters as the *Jugendweihe,* the heathen cultic ceremony of youth dedication that the Communists have attempted to substitute for confirmation. He gives dramatic incidents and relates human interest stories to show how the Christians in East Germany have lived under more than a quarter century of totalitarianism (Nazi and Communist). It is interesting to see how much alike right and left totalitarianism in fact are. The Communist attack on the churches, church programs, and church leaders in East Germany (and the other satellites) is much like that of certain right-wing extremists in the USA on the churches here.

Above all, Solberg, with all the documentation and commentary, shows that primary sources can be even more fascinating than rumor and back-fence gossip. Here is the material on which informed and responsible opinion can be based. A Christian layman and an honest practitioner of his craft, historian Solberg has no use for forged documents, doctored "documentary films" or photomontage. He knows that Hitler did not defeat Communism and that his way of doing it cannot succeed. We shall not defeat Communism by shadow-boxing or by making a practice of breaking the ninth commandment. The answer to Communism is "the open face of truth."

With the great Berlin *Kirchentag* (Rally of the Church) just behind us (July 18-23: 110,000 people, including many thousands who came from Communist East Germany in spite of orders against travel to Free Berlin), Solberg's book is especially moving. Why do the Christians in Germany rally in such great numbers to the sign of the cross? What kind of leadership has given the German Church the greatest authority it has

had since the Reformation? What are the men like who are leading this battle with a "false cosmism" (Communism) in the name of the Church Catholic and Apostolic? This book gives the story, well told.

Franklin H. Littell

CHILDREN IN THE CHURCH. *By Iris V. Cully. Westminster, $3.75.*

Although many volumes of the past decade have explored the foundations of Christian teaching under the impact of the reconstruction of biblical theology, this is one of the few attempts to translate these findings into specific designs for improving the church's ministry to a specific age group.

Consistent with her earlier writing, Dr. Cully derives her suggestive methodology for the church's ministry to children directly from the biblical and theological foundations which undergird the essential character of the church's life and work. She does not ignore implications of the disciplines of psychology and sociology for this effort. In fact, she insists that any attempt to relate to the child redemptively, without being instructed by the contributions of the child-development movement, would be a distortion of the basic character of the Christian faith.

While affirming the basic intent underlying her desire to relate psycho-social insights to the church's understanding of its life and work, expressed through theological assertions, this reviewer feels that she has made their relationship a too happy one, presenting them as complementary in the task of ministering to the deepest needs of childhood. There are actually sharp differences in these disciplines, especially regarding such an issue as the "image of man" in his essential and existential character. One dare not minimize the problems inherent in bringing together the child-development view and that of a realistic biblical theology. Others will undoubtedly argue that this is the only point at which the author adequately represents the contribution of the liberalism of the psycho-social disciplines to an understanding of self theory.

It is certain, however, that she has described well the church's responsibility to the child in making available to him all the resources of its life and work (tradition, Bible, worship, sacraments, etc.), that the child may be confronted by the gospel and caused to make his personal response in an intelligent and responsible manner. To this end, she insists upon the restoration of the home and parents to a role of primacy reminiscent of earlier expectations in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

This lucidly written volume will prove a welcome and useful tool for any minister, church school teacher, or parent.

Charles H. Johnson

MINISTER'S PRAYER BOOK. *Edited by John W. Doberstein. Muhlenberg, $3.75 (cloth); $6.00 (leather).*

THE PASTOR'S PRAYER BOOK. *Edited by Robert N. Rodenmayer. Oxford University Press, $5.00.*

Here are two books that may be heartily recommended to the readers of the *Journal.* In different ways they are addressed to one of the areas of most pressing need in the minister's life, and in each case they are admirably suited to their purpose.

The first volume has been prepared to provide "a scheme and materials" for the minister's own daily devotions. Rightly recognizing that there is no other book in English having this as its purpose, Doberstein has compiled a veritable treasury of devotional resources to serve the evangelical pastor in a disciplined life of prayer. Though Lutheran in its inspiration and essential character, the book is nevertheless genuinely ecumenical and, as one who has used it can testify, can be employed most profitably by the Methodist pastor who would learn to pray as he ought.

Its basic scheme turns on a twelve-point order of daily devotion, together with a weekly structure arranged according to "seven themes of the minister's calling and life." This scheme, then, is set within the larger pattern of the traditional church year, which governs the text for the week, the hymns, psalms, daily lessons, and collect. Also provided are an excellent collection of

"prayers of preparation for ministry" and a 250 page anthology of "meditations for ministers" arranged according to the seven basic themes.

If I have any criticism of the book, it is that use of the recommended scheme tends to be somewhat complicated and difficult to carry out. Even so, I know of no resource for the minister's own life of prayer that offers a greater promise of transforming and renewing it by the power of the gospel. Indeed, I can imagine nothing that would more directly contribute to the evangelization of our church than that those of us who are its ministers should make some such scheme as this the basis of regular daily devotions.

The second volume has the somewhat different purpose of providing "pastors of all Christian churches" with "a collection of prayers which follows the rhythm of their days." Directed less to the minister's own devotional needs than to the needs of his office as leader in prayer, it is comprised of almost 650 prayers arranged according to the several occasions at which the minister is most frequently required to exercise his office. Handy in format and "catholic" in its depth and scope, it offers the minister the most useful collection of authentic Christian prayers of which I have any knowledge. I need add only that, like the first book, its value is further enhanced by the excellent indexes with which it is provided.

Schubert M. Ogden

PREACHING, CONFESSION, THE LORD'S SUPPER. *By Walter Lüthi and Eduard Thurneysen. Translated by Francis J. Brooke, III. John Knox, $2.50.*

It is regrettable that the term "word" is used in such a broad sense that it is difficult to define many aspects of our worship. Walter Lüthi means by "word" the sermon; yet he is also aware that all preaching is not the word, and that the word is made known in the sacraments, in the "visible word." Despite this semantic confusion, Lüthi has an important message for the pastor and layman in the first and last essays of this short book. He has given a helpful restatement of Luther's view of the importance of the sermon and the sacraments in the evangelical church.

In the first part, the preacher is called again to what he is likely to know already, but the judgment and mercy and hope of these reminders are needed regularly. For example: "The secret of all preaching is poverty, in the sense of the first beatitude. By this I mean that the act of preaching—and listening as well—is one of those things for which no one actually has true ability. The very moment a man thinks he has this ability, his preaching becomes art, and grace draws back in grief." It may be that "arty" would have been a better word, but the major thrust of the message should be heard.

The essay on the Lord's Supper is concerned with its celebration in the local congregation. The issues Lüthi faces as a pastor in Switzerland are not unlike those we know in Methodist congregations in the United States. He examines the plight of the Lord's Supper at its deep levels, offering very practical considerations in terms of the fundamental insights. He presents two areas of difficulties: those inherent in the nature of communion itself, and those caused by the congregation. The "offense of the gospel" must be faced. The difficulties of the local congregation in bringing the Lord's Supper to its normative position in Christian worship pose formidable problems. Lüthi faces both with an awareness of the need for deep conviction about the nature of the sacrament and understanding of local parish needs.

Eduard Thurneysen's essay separates Lüthi's, and it is not clear why the editors felt the need to split the one or sandwich the other. Protestantism is rediscovering the need for confession, but Thurneysen would warn us against adopting the Roman Catholic confessional. The nature of confession as a response to God, although not a work, is well stated. The church and its worship becomes the site of both confession and forgiveness. The doctrines of the church and the priesthood of all believers need more clarification than this brief essay can give, but here is the start of important discussions

on confession, pardon, counseling, and worship.

It does not take long to read the book, but the flavor lasts.

H. Grady Hardin

POINT OF GLAD RETURN. *By Lance Webb. Abingdon, $3.50.*

If your concern is for fellowship with the living Christ, whether you are suffering under human frailties and frustrations, anxieties or achievements, or from estrangement and guilt, here is made plain the points at which Christ confronts us with his gracious insight and strength that we may in gladness return to his company and know his salvation.

The author, having served outstandingly at University Park Church in Dallas, is now the senior minister of North Broadway Church, Columbus, Ohio. As a pastor he has seen the individual needs and problems of people that are never separable from social relationships. Here he begins, as did Jesus, with the single human heart, believing that the eternal contemporary Christ now confronts each person in his particular situation and circumstance. Only the living Christ can enable us to judge by proper standards, to measure life and its goals by the mind of God, to sense our own weakness and accept his proffered strength, and to find victory in and through him.

Here is no sentimentalism about some Do It Yourself salvation. Rather, raw realism and naked fact about life's seriousness and sicknesses face us. But there is One at work in and through it all seeking to bring and meet us at that point of glad return where life here shall be lived under God and lived eternally with God.

This book would serve admirably for small group use as well as private reading. It enables one to face himself and his Christ candidly and redemptively, for there is no greater gladness than that of God when his child returns.

George C. Baker, Jr.

THE PASTOR AND COMMUNITY RESOURCES. *By Charles F. Kemp. Bethany Press, $1.50.*

Every pastor is faced at times with the need for a better understanding of the various social welfare agencies operating in his community. Too often he is not aware of the assistance available for persons in need. This handbook is intended to assist him in this important aspect of his ministry.

The book has three major divisions: (1) a brief statement of basic principles underlying the pastor's relationship with social agencies and professional workers; (2) helpful information about various social agencies in the community; and (3) a list of the addresses of various national agencies and a space for the pastor to write in the names and addresses of local ones.

This is the most complete and thorough handbook for its size ever produced. Any pastor can save much time and effort by following its suggestions.

Marvin T. Judy